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VOL. XIV, No. 41.

## ELEMENTARY SOCIALISM

What Is Capital?—The Capitalist?—The Class Struggle?—Is It Beneficial To Be A Socialist?

Owing to the rule enforced in some establishments, which makes it impossible for one to talk with another more than one or two minutes at a time, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the employer and his obsequious "vigilant" (foreman), the junior clerks in the office of a big Western firm have hit upon the plan of sending notes. A great variety of subjects (dear to the heart of youths, such as physical culture, bowling, bull dogs, and pretty girls), may thus be discussed with comparative immunity from detection.

One of the clerks, knowing I am somehow "mixed up" with Socialism proceeded to question me in regard to it and I undertook to enlighten him to the best of my ability. As, with his kind permission, the questions and their answers may serve a good purpose in *The People*, I submit them herewith, materially unchanged.

To his question, "If our mutual employer is a capitalist," I answered as follows:

Capital is wealth—such as land, buildings, machinery, tools, mines, mills, raw material, etc.—used in the production of more wealth, with a view to private profit.

A capitalist—usually called "employer"—is one who owns and controls capital, as above defined.

Whoever the capitalist, he would like to keep us all working all the time (24 hours a day, if possible), for then so much more wealth would be produced, from which he could extract so much more surplus value (which is the scientific term for profit). As you see he, owing to decreasing trade, finds it impossible to do so, somebody getting laid off. Our mutual employer is a capitalist!

"How does a man, who is a capitalist, benefit me?"

First, By giving you work, he not only gives you healthy exercise of mind and body, but deprives you of necessary relaxation and education.

Second, By compelling you to work long hours he makes you sickly, superstitious and unhappy.

Third, By putting on you the badge of merchandise, that is, by buying your labor as all other merchandise is bought, viz., according to the law of supply and demand, and by exploiting your labor power with a view to profit, he causes all of these bad qualities to develop in you, and thus destroys every spark of manhood you possess.

Fourth, By virtue of his ownership of the means of production and distribution—capital—aided by the distribution growing out of the operation of the law of supply and demand, as applied to labor, he keeps you in subjection, forcing you into misery and despair, and himself into corruption and debauchery, which the protection of his capital and the disposal of his ill-gotten wealth require.

"What is the class struggle?"

The object of labor is to produce useful wealth, in one form or another.

Wealth is divided into two parts, one called "Wages," which you get, and the other called "Profits," which the capitalist keeps for himself.

Material interests are the main spring of human action. Other factors, such as the religious, moral and political institutions, are necessary, but only secondary, being regulated by this great main spring—material interests.

Labor's material interests urge it to get as much of the wealth produced, in the form of wages, as possible. The material interests of the capitalist—profits—force him to keep Labor's share down and increase his own. Labor's material interest compels workmen to unite with workmen. Capital's material interest compels capitalists to unite with other capitalists. The result is the arraying of two classes—the working and the capitalist classes—in hostile opposition: the class struggle, as it is called in Socialist nomenclature.

We Socialists do not create this class war. As shown above, it is inherent in and evolved out of the present system; but our science is founded on the full recognition of its existence. The class struggle was illustrated in its most emphatic way by the recent disturbances in Colorado.

We Socialists are in the world to make it better; if we fail to attain this—through indifference or ignorance, our lives, when summed up, amount to a zero.

erations may strive for something higher and nobler but Socialism is the next step in evolution, the logical sequence to Capitalism.

"How would my becoming a Socialist benefit me?"

First, By causing you to speak and act intelligently, not making continual blunders; for, having a correct understanding of society in general and production (both ancient and modern) in particular, through the study of Socialist philosophy and economics, you will know what you are talking about. Is not that desirable?

Second, By instructing you how to resist the capitalist in his efforts to increase the exploitation of the workers; i. e., restrain him from taking more of the products of labor (mental and manual), which his interests prompt him to do. In other words: Keep the standard of living from being lowered and consequently keep the workers (yourself included), from further degradation.

Is not that desirable?

Third, By hastening the day when we, our children and their children shall enjoy a happier, nobler and better life all around; because while now enjoying political freedom, we work for its logical complement, that is, economic or industrial liberty as well.

Is not that desirable?

Fourth, By causing you to work and vote in harmony with progress, for the ending of exploitation, the abolition of wage slavery and the institution of the Socialist Republic.

Is not that desirable?

You wonder!!

Karl Marx, Engels, Lassalle and hundreds of others lived lives of exile from their homes and native lands because they dared to stand for their rights and their convictions. And should we, who pride ourselves on being free, living in this glorious country, with free speech and unrestricted press, dare to be less liberty-loving, or less sensitive to oppression?

History repeats itself! George Washington and Patrick Henry return to earth but in a changed garb.

Art satisfied, young friend?

Beau Brummel.

A Long Island correspondent sends in the title page of "The New York Herald" of Sunday, January 1. On the margin, over the title appear the following inscriptions:

"A STARTER FOR 1905.

"One Day of Capitalist Society.

Whoop Her Up!"

Over the article in Col. I, headed "Furman Called In Dodge Case," is this comment:

"Supreme Bench. Breach of trust and professional honor."

Over the article in Col. II, headed "Dr. Chadwick Here. Met By Sheriff," the following appears:

"Medical profession and high social life. Gigantic frauds and thefts."

Col. VI, which has these words at the top: "Miller Did Not Sign Presentment," is capped with this:

"The Church. Gross social immorality."

While Col. VII, whose contents appear under "Senator Mitchell Accused of Fraud," is thus commented upon:

"U. S. Senate. Defrauding the government and stealing from same."

This is certainly a striking commentary on Capitalism, as reflected in one of its leading organs. Four of its leading institutions are shown to be so rotten as to evoke the caustic ire of decent men. Away with it! Work for the inauguration of Socialism!

### ATTENTION, ST. LOUIS WORKMEN!

Frank Bohn, National Organizer for the Socialist Labor Party, will lecture on Trades Unionism at a mass meeting under the auspices of the Butchers' Alliance, at Hyde Park Hall, Twelfth and Franklin avenues, Sunday, January 8, 2 p. m. Admission, free. Butcher workmen are especially invited to attend.

Bohn will also lecture on "The Doctrines of Socialism and the Necessity for Solidarity," at the Wacht Am Rhine Hall, 2300 So. Broadway, Tuesday evening, January 10. All workmen should attend.

### FURTHER RETURNS.

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 21.—The official canvassing board gives 1,592 votes for the S. L. P. (Corregan) elector. That is 92 more than last reported from here.

Phoenix, Ariz., Dec. 17.—The Arizona "Republican" publishes to-day the definite results of the vote in the territory for delegate. Leach, the Socialist Labor Party candidate, received 82 votes.

(By Mrs. Olive M. Johnson.)

It has often been said that the Socialists, by their agitation, are stirring up class hatred, and setting class against class. It is further said that the class agitators have no ground to stand upon in this country, because, unlike in the European monarchies, classes do not exist here. These, and similar phrases, are, however, only a collection of absurdities, characteristic of the superficial in American literature and oratory.

Socialism, it is true, is the science that points out the historic causes and the actions of the class struggle; but it has no more created classes or class struggles than Newton created the law of gravitation, Harvey the circulation of the blood, or Columbus America. These men were discoverers and scientists; so were Marx and Engels.

The Socialist agitators of this country point out the existence here of classes, their economic foundation, the cause of the struggles between these classes, and what will be the outcome thereof. However, if a Socialist agitator had never breathed American air, these classes would still exist and the struggle between them would be just as severe. The only difference would be the lack of understanding of the underlying laws, which, consequently, would not, as is now the case, be taken advantage of and used to promote human progress.

Our critics tell us further that classes are only genuine when built upon inherited privileges, so that the very name of a person denotes his rank in society; for example the names of Lord Chamberlain, Lady Somerset, Baron Rothschild, etc., at once denote that their bearers are members of the privileged classes of their respective countries. No such thing, it is said, exists in this country. Tom Jones, if he has brains, can become the equal of the greatest captain of industry, and Dick Harris was born a president, and the fault is his own if he does not become one.

It may, indeed, be true that we have no official register of names, no acknowledged titles, nor any special chemical test for blood, by which to distinguish the members of the upper class; but they are as easily known. Speak of the Goulds, and who does not at once think of railroad lords; of the Rockefellers, and we think of the oil kings; of the Baers or the Hannas, and our minds recall the coal barons, and so we could go through the whole line of American nobility. There may be other Goulds, Rockefellers, Baers Hannas, etc., but they are not THE Goulds, Rockefellers, Baers, Hannas, etc. A little peculiar accent on the otherwise insignificant article "the" means as much in our own unsophisticated English as Sir, von, de, van, du, and all the other prefixes, whatever they may be, means in all their respective languages. It is class privileges that determine class rank and class privileges are always economic privileges, their foundation lays in the private ownership of the means of production, and while privately owned, means of production are hereditary, class privileges are also hereditary, in the degree that this property goes undisturbed from parents to children.

The difference that there has been in class privileges since the beginning of class society, has had its basis in the difference of the means of production in the different historic stages. In ancient times, the Ionian and Patrician privileges were built upon the ownership of slaves; in mediæval times those of the lords

and barons upon ownership of land and, self-evidently, of the serfs that were bound to the land and cultivated it; in modern times, the privileges of the capitalists depend upon the ownership of land and machines of production—in the case of the Goulds upon railroad franchises, rolling stock, freight and passenger depots, etc.; in the case of the Rockefellers in oil wells, pipe lines, refineries, etc., etc.—and, as a necessary auxiliary to this, each capitalist must own sufficient capital to buy the necessary labor power of the wage slave class to operate these means.

On the other hand, the class that owns no means of production is not only a non-privileged class, but it is also an enslaved class. In ancient times its members were called slaves, in mediæval times serfs, in modern times wage workers. The difference is the result of the changes in the means of production; all other differences are nominal only. Each class receives as a whole only its food, clothing and shelter from day to day and from generation to generation. Each is absolutely bound to its master class and cannot exist in society without it, the conditions remaining unchanged.

Not only does the means of production today belong to the capitalist class, but also the finished products. In order to exist the working class must get hold of, at least, those products commonly termed "the necessities of life." In capitalist society these are commodities, they must be bought. In order to buy one must have money. But money is not gathered, like manna, on the sand, or like dew, on the grass. In the case of the working class, at least, it must be earned, and earned as wages. In order to get wages the worker must find an individual that owns means of production and raw material that he desires

to be changed into products. To this individual, called a capitalist, the worker sells his capacity to work—his mental and physical faculties—in competition with other workers. In return for his work he receives wages. The worker's capacities, therefore, are placed in the market under the same regulations as any other commodity, as pigs, potatoes, shoes, clothing, etc. The only and essential difference is, that in order to work the worker must be on the spot where the work is to be done. He is inseparable from his capacity to labor. Unlike other commodity sellers he cannot send his commodity to shift for itself. He must follow it into the field of consumption, consequently, when he sells his labor power he sells himself, he becomes a wage slave.

That the American capitalist is an aristocrat, a plutocrat, a privileged character, and the boasted American sovereign a wage slave of the factory, field and mine are ugly economic facts, all prose and poetry to the contrary notwithstanding.

The two bona fide classes of the historic class struggle of to-day are, therefore, the working class and the capitalist class.

The capitalist class owns practically all the means of production. According to statistics it numbers about 5 per cent of the population and owns about 75 per cent of the total wealth of the nation. This wealth to a great extent consists in machinery and other means of production, in other words, what is commonly known as capital. By the ownership of capital the members of the capitalist class also become the owners of the wealth produced from day to day by the wage workers in their employ. Again, according to statistics, the wages of the working class amounts to only 17½ per cent of the total wealth produced, and that leaves 82½ per cent within the domain of the capitalist class.

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## The Class Struggle

## What Is Capital?

(By FERDINAND LASSALLE.)

### CAPITALIST FALLACIES.

Let us take the definition of capital which has hitherto passed muster; not, which is universally given by all economists, that "capital is hoarded labor"; of course, that childish definition of Bastiat's, that capital is "the saved portion of a man's income," for that is manifestly too absurd and ridiculous; but the other definition that "capital is the instruments of labor"; or the one, or, if you like, a third, that "capital consists of products which are continually applied to further production."

Now look at this Red Indian in the primeval forests of America, who is out hunting for his subsistence with his bow and arrow. Is this man a capitalist? Is this bow and arrow capital? You see all the three definitions are fulfilled. The bow and arrow are unquestionably an instrument of labor. Nobody, too, can deny that it is the result of expended

labor. What is more, it is a product which is continually used for further production. Yet it would be flying in the face of common sense to call that Red Indian a capitalist! You see, therefore, that somehow or other all these definitions must be incorrect.

Or perhaps you will say—and the man who would say this would say anything—"Yes, the bow and arrow is capital, and the Indian is consequently a capitalist." Then, I can easily show you that that bow and arrow is not capital, neither is the Red Indian a capitalist.

To make this quite clear, imagine yourself for a moment out in the woods with just such a bow and arrow. The bow and arrow will serve to shoot game. It will,—since it is an instrument of labor,—also help you to carry on your work of providing for your own subsistence. But if, as I am afraid would be the case, you were to get tired, in struggling through the forest with your moosehorns on after the game, you will find no chance to lay out your bow and arrow at interest; and that, as all the world knows, is the distinguishing characteris-

tic of capital. So you see that this bow and arrow, after all, is an instrument of labor, but it is not capital.

But assuming, under the impression that it was merely because your bow and arrow was hoarded labor in the form of bow and arrow that you could not make it do duty as capital—assuming, I say, that you wished to exchange it, and went, for this purpose, to barter with our original Indian. Very likely this Indian, if your bow and arrow suits him, will do a bargain with you. He will give you in exchange, say, a deer he has killed, or some furs, or, if in a gold-bearing region, he may even hand you—just think of it!—a great nugget of gold. But you have no possibility whatever of making profit out of these articles where you are. In order to make these goods productive—interest or profit bearing—you must just betake yourself to other countries where markets stand on a very different, in short, on a European footing. But mark you this: in the assumed historical conditions in which you are placed you cannot possibly do any such thing. Not

only so, but now, with the things for which you have bartered away your bow and arrow—your game, your furs, your fine nugget of gold—you are a deal worse off than you were with the bow and arrow, which would at least enable you to keep yourself—if you shot straight. You can grasp now—and I advise you to hold fast to it—that there are historical conditions in which there are instruments of labor, in which you may even barter or exchange, but in which, nevertheless, there is no capital. Following, then, upon these explanations which all readers of socialist economy know well, we can say that, although we have here instruments of labor, there is yet no capital because there is no division of labor, since the instruments of labor—the means of production on a very small scale—are in the hands of the laborer himself or at his command, or, in the other words, labor alone is itself productive. Here, then, aptly comes the statement that the independent productivity of capital, its breeding, as Shylock says, its profit-making apart from labor, is possible only under a system of division of labor, and is the consequence of that division of labor.

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## Labor's Share

I have just finished reading a pamphlet that I think would interest every one of us.

The object of this publication is given on the second page and I copy it, so as to enable you to use your best intelligence in the matter; it is as follows:

"This brief statement of facts is published for the purpose of giving accurate information concerning the City of Seattle and King County, Wash., to all who may be interested in their resources, business conditions, and progress.

"The statistics given are from official sources. The statements made are founded upon official reports and records of the City, County, State and Federal Government. When estimates are given the method of making them is stated in order that their accuracy may be proved.

"For further information write

"Seattle Chamber of Commerce."

"After describing the location and environment, growth and population, climate and rainfall, and other items of interest

to would-be settlers, we come to something under the head of "Manufacturing in Seattle," that should open the eyes of every thinking person. It starts out this way:

"Good markets, cheap raw materials, cheap fuel, cheap power, cheap transportation, and most convenient facilities for the distribution of the products of her mills, and factories, are some of the advantages which have made manufacturing enterprises profitable in Seattle, and which will make her a great industrial center. Her markets for lumber and fish products, are the Pacific Slope, Alaska, Mexico, Central and South America, the countries of the far East and the Philippines and Hawaiian Islands."

Now we come to the milk of the account, as the publication goes on to state:

"From data collected by the Chamber of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Association the condition of the manufacturing industries of the city at the present time are set forth in the following table, together with the figures for 1890, 1900, and 1901:

|  |
|--|
| Number of establishments—1890, 331; 1900, 953; 1901, 1,400.                  |
| Capital invested—1890, \$4,758,283; 1900, \$10,131,651; 1901, \$16,000,000.  |
| Value of product—1890, \$10,203,007; 1900, \$26,373,402; 1901, \$55,000,000. |
| Wages paid—1890, \$3,083,731; 1900, \$5,575,253; 1901, \$13,000,000.         |
| Number of wage earners—1890, 3,768; 1900, 8,480; 1901, 16,000.               |

By comparing the above table carefully you cannot fail to notice that in 1890, the workers received more than half the value of the product; in 1900, the workers' share is sadly diminished, being less than one-third the value of the wholesale product, and less than one-fifth the value when sold by the capitalist at retail; and we find that the last named gentlemen, succeeding in keeping the workers' share down to that miserable pittance, as the business census of 1903 shows (notwithstanding all the shouting about prosperity).

Now, my fellow sufferers, while we are grumbling about the opportunities that we have not got it behooves us to make the very best use of those that

present themselves. It is not necessary that we should have a college education before it will be possible for us to see, and also to show others of our class, that, if it is necessary for the average worker to work at least four days to earn sufficient in the form of wages, to buy that which he produces in one day, that periodical overproduction so called, is inevitable.

There is only one thing to do if you desire to stop the present state of affairs (and I cannot see for the life of me why any propertyless wage earner should want it to continue), and that is to deprive the merchant and capitalist class of their power to keep us in wage-slavery, by voting men of our own class and whose interests are identical with yours into political power.

The Socialist Labor Party, if for no other than its uncompromising attitude, on behalf of the wage workers, is entitled to our best efforts and support.

In conclusion I would say, if we will but make up our minds those of us who are classconscious can speed the day when ye shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit thereof, ye shall build houses and inhabit them, ye shall not plant and others reap, ye shall not build and others inhabit.

Fred Boylan.

Seattle, Wash., Dec. 19.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run. Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

## CHattel & Wage Slavery

A Difference Seldom Noted Between the Two.

[From "The Socialist," Edinburgh, Organ S. L. P. of Great Britain.]

As has often been remarked upon in the "Socialist," and is well known to all students of history, society in the course of its onward march, passed through a period of chattel-slavery and has now arrived at the stage of wage-slavery known as capitalism.

Society during the period of chattel-slavery was, as it is at present, a class society. The chattel slave class, like the present wage slave class, was a propertyless class. Both systems were class systems and the two propertyless classes were slaves. Upon some points these two classes may be comparable, but to the Socialist wage-slavery is a distinct historical advance in the progress of the human race upon chattel slavery, besides, between these two propertyless classes upon fundamental points there is a world of difference. For example, the chattel slave never voted for chattel slavery, whereas the wage slave votes for wage slavery, and the chattel slave once bought in the market was his master's property for life, whereas the wage slave is only hired when his master requires him, and when his master does not require him he is "dismissed" and left in the labor market to



# THE IRREPRESSIBLE CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History,  
Significance and Failure, Culminating in  
the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,  
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

## FIFTH EPISODE—Continued.

### COMPULSORY RESIGNATIONS AND EVIDENCE ORDER OF DAY.

Acting Governor Haggot, to be prepared for any emergency, had declared martial law at an end in Las Animas county, and it was confidently expected that Teller county would again be placed in the hands of the military. Through the night squads sent by the sheriff, and the men directing his movements continued to bring in union miners, and when morning broke the district was completely in the hands of the usurpers. Enforced resignations of officials, considered to be friendly to the union, was again in order, and a number were put out of office. Police Magistrate Gibbons refused to resign, even when a revolver was shaken in his face. He was then taken to the bull pen.

About 11 o'clock on the 7th, the military secured what was considered to be conclusive evidence of a criminal conspiracy on the part of the union. This consisted of about 40 photographs, each marked and checked, so as to show who were non-union men. Among the pictures was one of the night shift of the Vindicator mine, and in this five men were checked off, among them being Chas. McCormick and Melvin Beck, who, it will be remembered, were killed by an explosion in the shaft of that mine in November. As the names of the two men were scratched out, it was taken for granted that they were the first of a number marked for slaughter.

The Citizens' Alliance got together and made arrangements for the swearing in of fifty new deputies. Then some of the miners were brought in and questioned as to the marking of the pictures. The first to be examined was Frank Cochran, secretary of Union No. 32. He declared that he knew little or nothing about the photographs, they having been taken before he became a member of the union. He knew nothing of any man being marked for slaughter. That his memory might be refreshed, two ropes were shown him, and he was threatened with hanging. Cochran then declared that the pictures were used simply for the purpose of keeping track of the non-union men. Nothing of importance was elicited from any of the witnesses.

### WHOLESALE DEPORTATIONS BEGIN.

Rose the question of what to do with the imprisoned miners, and deportation was decided upon, as there was no hope whatever of connecting the majority of the captives with the crimes committed in the district. Two o'clock was the hour set for the departure of the train, but, as prisoners were being constantly brought in, the deportation was deferred. When the decision of the committee was noised abroad, the bull pen was surrounded with friends and enemies of the prisoners. Tears, ribald jests and laughter, the despairing wails and sighs of women and children, and the venomous oaths of the men who had elected to fight the battles of the mine owners, filled the air. Juan Phas Spaniard, tearfully protested against his fate. He had arrived in Victor on the day of the riot in search of his brother and had been seized and thrown in the bull pen. Another of the prisoners was quite ill.

Then the sheriff arrived with a list of the men marked for deportation. As the names were called, the men, to the number of twenty-seven, were lined up and, guarded closely, marched from the armory to the waiting train. It was understood that they were to be taken to Colorado Springs but, upon the arrival of the train at that place, the authorities absolutely refused to allow the men to be put off there, and the prisoners were taken on to Denver. Several of the deported men were robbed of considerable sums of money and valuables.

Cowan Doran, who had resisted the efforts of the mine owners to make him resign, impanelled a jury to examine into the deaths of the men killed in the explosion, and, at the same time George Hall, who was slated to succeed Doran, was about to hold an inquest over the bodies of the men killed in the riots, with a jury conveniently supplied him by the Mine Owners' Association.

### MARTIAL LAW PROCLAIMED—MILITARY COMMISSION APPOINTED.

Late at night General Bell came into the district on a special train, bringing the news that martial law had been declared.

On the morning of the 9th Coronal Doran and a number of other officials were forced to resign. A bull pen was established in the city of Cripple Creek and in a little while over fifty prisoners were placed therein, the city jail being full. In Victor, a military commission, consisting of Judge H. McGarry, Mayor Frank D. French, J. B. Cunningham, F. M. Beardon, D. E. Copeland and T. J. Dalsell, was appointed by General Bell to investigate the records of the miners. One by one the prisoners were led before this body and, after being examined, were taken back to the bull pen. T. M. McClelland, whose name is familiar to the reader, was appointed Provost Marshal of the district.

Late in the afternoon the district was set wild by the report of a pitched battle between a number of miners and a force of militia and Citizens' Alliance men under General Bell. Many wild stories have been put into circulation over this incident, but the facts, as far as I have been able to learn, are as follows:

### THE "BATTLE" OF DUNNVILLE.

Dunnville, where the "battle" took place, is—or rather, was—the scene of a gold excitement on the F. & C. C. R. R., fourteen miles south of Victor, within the boundaries of Fremont county.

A number of miners driven out of the Cripple Creek district were there, working some claims. It appears that a Citizens' Alliance man dropped into camp the day before the "battle," and had been escorted out by the union miners, smarting under the punishment inflicted upon them at Victor. The evicted one carried his tale to his friends and immediately a force was organized to "clean out this nest of dynamiters and anarchists." The excuse given by Bell for the expedition was that he had heard that a force was being organized at Dunnville to march on Victor. This is simply a lie. In the words of one of the Citizens' Alliance men, they went down there for revenge and they got it.

Getting off the train two miles above camp, the invaders proceeded carefully in search of their prey. Upon coming in sight of the miners, Bell's force promptly opened fire upon them. A few shots were returned, which were turned by the imagination of the scribes who accompanied Bell into a storm of bullets from an entrenched host of well-armed men. Every miner able to do so once made preparations to leave the county hurriedly. Bell was in his element that day. The staff photographer taken along "caught" him in a magnificent attitude. In fact, had an ordinary man performed as did the doughty general, people would at once inquire as to his sanity. But Bell—well, Bell is Bell.

### THE "BATTLE" A SHIELD TO HIDE BREACH OF LAW.

When the battle was ended by the miners breaking records in getting away from the place, it was found that John Carley lay dead, shot as he was running to a place of safety. Fourteen prisoners were taken, two of them being boys who were running a lunch stand and rooming house in the camp, and who had taken absolutely no part in the firing, and another, a negro pie vendor, who was found hiding among his wares. After all the talk of a tremendous armament, a few revolvers, shotguns and one .22 calibre rifle—less than a dozen in all—were found. The miners, according to the best information, numbered less than sixty-five, as against the two hundred men under Bell, and yet, had they been entrenched and armed, and had they fought as reported by Bell, the chances are that the greater part of the invading force would have been left dead on the field, if it were not wiped out of existence. The ridiculous assumptions of the State authorities were made for the purpose of covering up the awkward fact that a most flagrant breach of the law had been committed in the invasion of a county entirely at peace, and to the peace officers of which no appeal had been made, by an armed force under the command of a general.

Among those who defied the law in invading a county in which there was not, even in the imagination of the governor, "insurrection and rebellion," were C. H. Mac Neil, the man more than any other responsible for the trouble in Colorado; and J. Q. McDonald, manager of the Trust mill at Florence, and a leading light in the State militia. Both of these men took part in the "fighting."

Governor Peabody, by word and action, sanctioned every move made by the men under him, in a most emphatic manner.

### WRECKING THE "DAILY RECORD" PLANT.

Late that evening, a gang of men visited the office of the Victor Daily Record and demolished the machinery and equipment. Editor Kyner had written a strong editorial urging the Western Federation of Miners to call the strike off, as he considered it lost and believed that a prolongation of the struggle would work great hardship to those compelled to stay in the district. This reversal of opinion on the part of the editor did not save him from the wrath of his enemies, while, by making it appear as if he was a friend of the union men only when the weather was clear, it lost him his friends in the ranks of labor. An attempt was made to prove that the demolition was the work of union men angered at the rattling of the man who had taken their money in more prosperous days. That theory was killed completely when the editor of the *Evening Star* of Cripple Creek, with whom Kyner had made arrangements to get out his paper, was notified that the treatment meted out to Kyner would be his portion did he turn his press over to the editor of the *Record*.

An amusing feature in connection with the wrecking of the *Record* office is the indignation expressed at the incident by a number of persons who roundly applauded every other outrage of the week.

### AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR APPROVED BY MINE OWNERS.

June 9th equalled many of the preceding days of the week in interest. Committees were appointed to visit the business men of the district to secure their signatures to an agreement binding them not to employ anyone connected with the Western Federation of Miners, the Trades Assembly, or the State Federation of Labor. At first the American Federation of Labor was included, but, "proper representations having been made," the ban was lifted from that organization. Poor old Gompers! What a blow was this! To cover up this blasting piece of evidence, the president of the A. F. of L. immediately "became very bitter" and "excoriated" Governor Peabody.

### CLOSING THE PORTLAND MINES.

But the great feature of the day was the closing of the Portland mine. I am not sure that this is not the most significant single event of the labor war in Colorado, as it explodes completely a number of the favorite platitudes of Capitalism. For the present, the mere fact of the closing will be noticed. This was done through a proclamation, which, in part, reads as follows:

"Whereas, The Portland mine situated in said county is and has been for a long time engaged in employing and harboring large numbers of dangerous, lawless men, who have aided and given comfort and assistance to those who have so been guilty of said crimes and outrages, so that said mine has become and now is a menace to the welfare and safety of the good people of said county and a hindrance to the restoration of peace and good order:

"Now, by the power conferred on me as commander of the military force in said county and as a military necessity, it is ordered that the said mine be at once closed and all men found therein or thereabouts who are dangerous to the community be arrested and held until further orders.

Sherman M. Bell.

Brigadier General, Adjutant General of Colorado, Commanding Military District, Teller County, Colorado."

Sheriff Edward Bell issued a similar proclamation, and, taking 150 men, General Bell made his way to the mine. As the army ascended the hill, the National emblem fluttered to the top of a flagstaff on one of the shaft houses. No resistance whatever was made and the general and his staff made their way to the office, where the proclamation was again read. The superintendent inquired if Bell wished the mine shut down immediately. As the military commander did not wish to inconvenience the management it was decided to let the mine run until the 4.30 shift came off. "Do you want any of the men?" asked Superintendent Kurie.

"I do not," replied Bell.

The object of the military in closing the mine was to destroy the last stronghold of the union. All men seeking employment in the future on the Portland, as at other mines, were to be passed upon by the Mine Owners' Association.

Arrangements were made to have twenty-four of the old employees remain, that the mine should not suffer.

### DEPORTEES DUMPED ON PRAIRIE.

The military commission made its first report to the military commander, recommending that nearly one hundred men be deported. This done, the commission at once made preparations for another separation of the sheep from the goats. Prisoners were being brought in continually. Sheriff Bell appointed L. F. Parsons, secretary of the Citizens' Alliance, under sheriff.

At 6.10 on Friday the trainload of miners marked for deportation left Cripple Creek for the Kansas line. At Colorado Springs twenty-seven policemen were on guard to see that none of the men were put off there. At La Junta several men who passed remarks on the guard were prodded with bayonets for daring to criticize the governor and the hired men of the mine owners.

Upon arriving at the State line it was found that Jack Brady, sheriff of Hamilton county, Kansas, was in waiting with a force of deputies to turn back the deportees and to arrest any of the guard that dare cross the line. In addition, the conductor of the train absolutely refused to carry the men into Kansas. As a consequence, the men were dumped upon the prairie by their captors, who, in parting, fired a volley over their heads. They were miles from any place in which food might be procured, and, although there were food and water on the train in plenty, the soldiers, for reasons best known to themselves, carried it away with them. As quickly as the train pulled out, the deportees began to walk to Holby, the nearest town. Reaching that place they were hospitably received by the inhabitants, and as quickly as possible the exiles made their way back to the mountains.

### CAPITALIST BRUTALITY SUSTAINS SOCIALIST CHARGES.

The treatment accorded the deported men while on the train is quite in keeping with the character of the men who are enforcing the law and establishing order. The captives were not allowed to speak above a whisper while on the train and were forced to keep their seats for seventeen hours.

"God help the miners deported from Colorado to Kansas who are sent back by the Kansas authorities," said the pious Peabody. "Kansas cannot prevent people from entering its borders, but if she finds they do not make good citizens she can pass them on as Colorado has done. She has the right to throw them out."

I commend this remark to the people who question the truth of the charges brought by Socialists against Capitalism as being utterly brutal.

It would be a mistake to speak of the deported men as miners, because, in fact, a number of trades were represented among the exiles. A shoemaker had been taken from his bench and rushed out of the district without being given a chance to remove his apron. Another, an expressman, was forced to leave two teams uncared for on the streets.

On their way back to Cripple Creek the defenders of the Peabody administration kept up their reputation for peacefulness, as a number of assaulted citizens will tell you.

General Bell closed a number of mines, the reason advanced being the same as in the case of the Portland.

President Roosevelt was appealed to by the secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, urging him to investigate conditions in Colorado, but, beyond an acknowledgment of the receipt of the telegram, no reply was made.

### A LEGAL CURIOSITY.

The coroner's jury empanelled by the new man, Hall, to inquire into the deaths of the men killed in the Independence explosion, brought in a verdict that is a curiosity in its way, showing as it does the lengths to which prejudice will drive men. In part it says:

"We find that the said explosions were exploded by an infernal machine purposely and wilfully set and discharged by some person or persons to your jury unknown, for the purpose of wilfully, maliciously and feloniously killing and murdering said persons and others; that said crime is one of similar crimes designed and executed in the Cripple Creek district during the past few months and perpetrated for the purpose of killing and intimidating non-union miners and thereby preventing them from working, and that said crimes are a conspiracy entered into by certain members of the Western Federation of Miners, and known, incited and furthered by certain officers of that organization."

Could a more complete display of animosity and criminal prejudice possibly be made? The explosion was the work of a "person or persons to your jury unknown," and yet the band of asses were quite sure that the criminals were connected with the Western Federation of Miners. As I have already stated, this jury was made up by the mine owners and handed over to the coroner. Only "safe" men sat on it; that is to say, men who could be depended upon to bring in a verdict implicating the Western Federation of Miners regardless of the evidence.

### WOMEN MALTREATED BY BELL'S CHIVALROUS WARRIORS.

Among the many notable effects of the rule of the mine owners we may note the seizing of Mrs. Printy, who was taken at her home, while nursing the baby. She was taken to the bull pen and searched in the presence of a number of men. Following that she was "sweetened" by a committee, to make her divulge secrets believed to be in her possession. Mrs. Printy was not the only woman molested by Bell and his chivalrous warriors. Considerable animosity was displayed against the Woman's

Auxiliary because the work of relieving the distressed had been turned over to that organization.

"I hope I shall not have to arrest the ladies," said Colonel Verdeckberg, "but they must behave themselves. I am told that the county jail has an excellent female department."

Frank J. Hange, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, was the next to feel the wrath of General Bell. He was thrown into the bull pen and kept there for ten days, no charge being filed against him. He had been engaged in legal work on behalf of the union and Bell proposed to show him the error of his way. C. G. Kennison, president of Union No. 32, was arrested on the streets of Denver by Marshal Moore of Goldfield. Kennison protested against being taken, and as a consequence was severely beaten by his captor, who is a specimen of the men hired by the mine owners to do their dirty work. This savior of society was but recently an inmate of the penitentiary, to which place he had been sent for a rape on his stepdaughter.

### NEW MEXICO SUBSTITUTED FOR KANSAS.

By the morning of the 14th another batch of prisoners was ready for deportation. These men, to the number of thirty-five, were sent southward to the line of New Mexico. Bad as was the treatment accorded to the ninety-one sent to Kansas, it was exceeded by the manner in which the candidates for New Mexico were handled. One man, William Ketcham, was taken ill on the train that was bearing him away from his home, and by morning was almost in a state of collapse. When the destination was reached, Ketcham was pushed out of the train, and, when he begged to be allowed to lie down by the roadside, the answer he received was a bayonet prod in the back, and he was forced down the road with his fellow captives at "double quick."

In this case the men were taken over the line. They were told never to come back, and, as a hint of what might happen, some of the soldiers tapped their rifles. Then the soldiers made for the train, which pulled out at once. One of the deported men, standing on the stone that marked the boundaries of the States sang:

"My country, 'tis of thee;  
Sweet land of liberty,  
Of thee I sing."

### NEGATING THE FLAG.

And at that moment, in the city of Cripple Creek, the flag was floating over the building which contained the office of the military commander and the bull pen, it being "Flag Day." Was there ever a greater travesty upon the name and emblem of freedom? On the mountain sides of Colorado no song of freedom was ringing. That as piratical a crew of exploiters as was ever spawned in the filth of Capitalism might be impregably entrenched in power, a prostituted administration was making the name of America a by-word, and, with the names of Washington and Lincoln on their tips, men were staining the flag with a negative of all it is supposed to stand for, even while they pretended to venerate it.

The exiles did not tarry in the desert. They made their way as quickly as possible to Antonito, and from that place scattered to various parts of the State.

### BRINGING OUT "THE BEST."

The success of the Federation in caring for its distressed members and their families aroused the ire of Colonel Verdeckberg, and the following order was issued:

"Headquarters, Teller County Military District, National Guard of Colorado.

"Victor, Col., June 14, 1904.

"Special Order, No. 19:  
"No organization will be allowed while this county is under military control to furnish aid in any form to the members of an organization or their families in this county, unless the same is done through military channels. Major Thomas E. McClelland is provost marshal of this military district, and he stands ready to receive from any person or organization any money or supplies that are for distribution to any persons rendered needy by the military occupation of this county for the suppression of insurrection, and all money and other supplies furnished will be applied to the relief of persons above referred to.

"(Signed) Edward Verdeckberg,  
"Colonel First Infantry, N. G. C. Commanding Teller County Military District in the absence of Brigadier General Sherman M. Bell."

Colonel Verdeckberg's signature and "entitlements" form quite a proclamation in themselves.

When the union stores were wrecked by the mob and closed by the military, the W. F. M. made arrangements with John Kettelson to furnish supplies to the families of members of the union that were in need. Colonel Verdeckberg put a stop to that, and when he found that the women of the relief committee were carrying on the work of supplying the wives and children of impoverished and deported miners, he, majestic in his wrath, called Mrs. King, chairwoman of the committee, before him and ordered her to desist. This is not the worst of the work of the military. Charitable people, whose hearts were wrung at the sight of suffering humanity, and who had come to the relief of the victims of the despotism, were informed that they must end such nefarious practices.

In Denver, too, the arm of the enemy was felt. The officers of the W. F. M. were ordered to vacate their quarters in the Mining Exchange building. This, according to the W. F. M. men, was spite work, instigated by the Citizens' Alliance.

The competitive system, say its defenders, brings out the best that is in us. View its work in the Cripple Creek district



## Volcanic Rumbblings

(From Nov. 12, 1904, Faribault, Minn. "Referendum", an organ of the So-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic Party.)

### OUR STATE COMMITTEE STANDS FOR COMPROMISE.

Local Faribault Turns Committee Down.

State Committee Must Give Account of Its Fusion and Compromise Deals—Comrades Kept in the Dark.

Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 19, 1904.

E. B. FORD,  
Faribault, Minn.  
Dear Comrade—

The following letter has been sent to the Social Democrat Herald which explains itself:

Minneapolis, Minn., Oct. 18th, 1904.  
Editor Social Democrat Herald, Milwaukee, Wis.  
Dear Comrade—

The attention of the state executive committee of the Socialist party of this state, designated for election purposes as Public Ownership party, has been called to an article in the Wisconsin Labor World, of the 15th instant, headed, "Ford Digs Into Berger," and quoted from the Referendum, published by E. B. Ford at Faribault, this state, and which is prefaced, for the purpose of giving it greater force, by the statement that Mr. Ford is an electoral candidate for the Socialist party of this state:

"We have been greatly annoyed by this and other similar articles, written by Mr. Ford and published in the Referendum, attacking and denouncing the workers in the Socialist movement in this country."

"We very much deplore these publications and the spirit which seems to animate Mr. Ford in making them, and regret that Mr. Ford indulges in such vitriolic outbursts."

"We wish to say that Mr. Ford is not an electoral candidate for the Socialist party of this state and that he in no way speaks for or represents the party in this state."

"He has forbidden that his name be used as electoral candidate."

"He takes little part in the work being done in this state and has assumed the attitude of a general censor."

"He is not only not supported in his course by this committee and by the party in this state, but we and the party disown and denounce his attacking articles as unjust and unmerited and any use of them, except as showing the ebullience of an individual who does not represent the party or the sentiment of the party in this state, is unwarranted."

"We write this for publication in your paper, in order that we and the Socialist party in this state may be set right in the eyes of your readers, and that Mr. Ford may be shown only as a self-constituted critic."

"Very truly your comrades in the fight."

MILTON N. ROGERS  
FRED MILLER  
S. M. HOLMAN  
B. F. MORLEDGE  
J. E. NASH  
HARSEN PARKER,  
"State Executive Committee."

Now, Mr. Ford, it is not within the province of the State Executive Committee to say what sort of a paper you publish, and we do not attempt to do so; but we do say that in our judgment it is in very bad taste, very unjust and very injurious to the cause for you to be continually hurling scathing broadsides at the prominent workers in the Socialist movement, who have for years stood behind the guns, and who are universally regarded as true to the cause. Such a course spoils your influence in the work and gives the enemy something to croak about and helps no one. We, therefore, earnestly request that you cease this method of attacking and devote your energies to upbuilding the cause of Socialism.

Truly yours,  
By order of State Executive Committee,  
J. E. Nash,  
State Secretary.

Comrades, I never published a letter with more willingness in my life, than the foregoing.

It brings to light the kind of men who are trying to befuddle the working people of this state and are organizing them into reform, revision, compromise clubs, in the name of Socialism.

I shall want to show you, com-

rades, what you ought to have known a long time ago—that the members of our state committee, are not Socialists but that they are a bunch of men in the Socialist movement to turn it over to revision and compromise.

I have the proof at hand, showing that S. M. HOLMAN, whose name is signed to the foregoing mass of lies (and I care not for lies from the enemies of Socialism in the movement or out) has stood for fusion and compromise ever since he has had control of the "machine", he and his peanut politicians and middle class huxters, lawyers, "professors" and worn-out preachers.

I have Holman's own handwriting, in a letter, in which he favored Putnam, Roach and Greenbaum & Co., in their fusion deal, while holding office in the national office of the Socialist party, and where he and the state committee passed resolutions concerning the Referendum and Local Faribault, because we were the first in the state to vote solid to throw those traitors out of the party; and after they were voted out, HOLMAN, as state secretary, wrote me a letter of apology to Local Faribault, for the stand he says the committee took against Local Faribault in that case, in our stand for Socialism, against traitors and fusion. Deny this, if you dare, Mr. Holman.

Why did you apologize to Local Faribault after those traitors were turned out of the party? Did you think, when you voted to turn Local Faribault down, Mr. HOLMAN, that you was going to be on the side of the majority? And when you found you was NOT in a majority, you apologized yourself into blue with the majority? Is it not a fact Mr. HOLMAN, that your whole ambition is to be on the side of the majority, and to hell with Socialism?

If you can't find a satisfactory answer, you better write down to the Democrat Herald and tell Berger I was in the insane asylum, as your defense.

Holman is head push for the Standard Oil company, and hence his class consciousness to that extent, that he can lead the workers on to the shoals of compromise, without his boss John D. Rockefeller, objecting to his (Holman) putting in extra time at his (John D.'s) expense, to "lead" the Socialist party.

I here prove to you, workers of the rank and file of the Socialist movement, that HOLMAN is determined to be on the side of the majority, even if the majority decides for a gold standard; for he may as well declare for a gold standard, for he now declares, and so does the whole capitalist committee, for a monetary system, bonds, interest, profits, interest and wages, in the name of Socialism.

Holman was on the platform committee at our February last convention with me, and so was Nash, and both voted for a Socialist platform, against union, resolution, and the immediate demands fake.

Why did Holman do this? Because he is politician enough to know that the majority of delegates, in that convention stood for a platform clean and revolutionary.

Holman was a delegate at the National Convention and when he found that a majority of delegates were politicians, fusionists, grafters, Gompersites, Greenbaums and Putnams, he voted for fusion and revision, compromise, capitalist bonds, wages, a tax system and an 8 hour day program, while myself and Comrade Brosky of New Ulm, voted against this capitalist rot, and we were the only Socialists in that convention from Minnesota.

Since that time Holman, and George B. Leonard, a lawyer of Minneapolis, who has been working his graft on the rank and file of the party for hundreds of dollars, and who is to blame for most of the unnecessary litigation in the capitalist courts, has been trying to blacklist Local Faribault and the Referendum. Why? Because we stand for Socialism, as against capitalism, he and the rest of our state committee stands for to-day, fusion, confusion, and any old peanut politics, to catch votes from the middle class, and Nash is no better, or he would never have signed his name to the foregoing mass of lies, which he knows are lies in the superlative degree. For he, too, plays with the lawyers, and middle class politicians, who, if allowed to remain in charge of our movement, will organize the rest of the state with their Capitalist Thompsons, with preachers, lawyers, doctors, democrat and republican aldermen and policemen and real estate sharks; when in 1908, a clean cut capitalist platform will be adopted, the same kind and one as that

Nash, Holman, Rogers, Miller, Morledge, Rogers and Parker, go to Wisconsin to defend, which declares for the wage system, interest, profits, rents, taxes, bond issues, buying the railroads, telegraphs, telephone lines, mills, mines, factory system, oil fields and plants and lands, from the trust and

### PAY FOR THEM AT THEIR ACTUAL VALUE!!

All this rot is what our state committee calls Socialism; and because the Referendum denounces all such as capitalism, and such as advocate them—Steadman, Unterman, Simons, Morgan, Thompson, Mills, Will, Stitt Wilson, Holman, Lucas, Leonard, Nash, Berger, Gaylord, Carey, Silverman, Titus, and a few more, as capitalist traitors who have drifted into the Socialist movement for their own especial benefit, every one of them grafters, lawyers, preachers and profit mongers; NOT ONE of them who have performed a day's useful service in their lives, the foregoing resolutions have been adopted by a state committee, also middle class grafters and politicians, and NOT A SOCIALIST AMONG THEM.

It is an honor to be resolved against by such a bunch of men, comrades, and every word in the resolution is a lie, rank with capitalist tactics, excepting where they say I am casting broad shots at "prominent workers in the movement, who have stood by the guns."

Yes, and I intend to expose them, those "prominent" who stand at the guns" at salaries of from \$3 to \$15 a day, out of the Socialists of this nation to talk capitalist reform, then whine what "sacrifices" they have made, until every capitalist grafter of them is driven from the Socialist movement, to join the glorious foot steps of Greenbaum, Putnam, Goldstein, Martha Moore Avery, Casson, Gompers, Mitchell & Co. for they are even worse than those.

I am glad I do not represent the state committee, and as for representing the Socialist party, I may and I may not, but certain I am, that I am advocating Socialism, while this committee is not and never has, and it is a bunch of men representing the middle class of the city of Minneapolis, and not the working class of Minnesota.

Hundreds of dollars have been squandered by this committee bled out of the comrades, in useless printing, that a populist printer, named Cole, may have a steady job; and dollars spent in sending out middle class leaflets, and sending out letters to "prominent" democrats; for what? That Carl D. Thompson may organize "Socialist" (?) clubs?

Again, I would be pleased to have our state secretary furnish the secretary of Local Faribault, with the names of the two locals in the northern part of this state, this "class conscious" (?) state committee allowed to fuse with the democrats and to go on the official ballot as "Independent." Were these clubs organized by Thompson? Our secretary asks for information, and asks why this committee has been working these schemes under cover in secret?

No, comrades I DO NOT represent this state committee.

Next week I shall print the resolutions adopted by Local Faribault against the state committee.

E. B. FORD.

### SECTION MINNEAPOLIS OFFICERS.

At the regular business meeting of Section Minneapolis, held December 4th, the following officers were elected to serve from January 1st to June 30, 1905, inclusive: Organizer, Carl J. Smith; recording secretary, William Foy; financial secretary, George Hedgedon; literary agent, Peter Reil; treasurer, Martin Overby; sergeant at arms, Peter Reil; grievance committee, Martin Carlson, Carl Madsen and Henry Edwards; auditing committee, Walter Halsey, Thomas Dougherty and Carl J. Smith; hall trustees, Henry Edwards, Peter Reil and George Hedgedon.

### CLEVELAND'S OFFICERS.

At the last regular meeting of Section Cleveland the following officers and committees were elected for ensuing term of six months, beginning January 1, 1905: Organizer, J. D. Goerke; recording secretary, R. Zillmer; financial secretary, Joe Reiman; treasurer, J. Heidenreich; librarian, Ed Hauser; literary agent, Fred Brown; sergeant-at-arms, E. Malmsten, J. Rugg, E. Polster and P. C. Christensen; grievance committee, P. Dinger, J. Kirchner and J. D. Goerke; city executive committee, D. Sash, R. Koepfel, E. Polster, J. Messenger, J. Vancata.

The Organizer.

## National Organizer Bohn's Tour

### Experiences Ament "Bulgaria" or "Italy"

Moline, Ill., Dec. 27.—When I read Comrade Johnson's article I felt like writing to her, "them's my sentiments, too." I hope that the fine policy there outlined may find universal favor in the Party. The one raison d'être of the S. L. P. is its unqualified adherence to revolutionary tactics. These tactics, carried into practice at this time, are marked by three characteristics which distinguish them from the methods of all other political organizations in America: (1) a revolutionary platform; (2) ownership of the Party Press by and for the Party; (3) uncompromising opposition to all capitalist institutions, including so-called "labor" unions as well as political parties. To these principles the S. L. P. will cling until the bells ring in the new regime. Its membership, like the Japanese army, is disciplined against all thought of surrender. The proposition set forth by Comrade Johnson resolves to this: In how far is any considerable portion of the "Socialist" party developing toward our position, and what can we do to hasten that development?

Those comrades who would look upon the entire membership of the S. P. as Kangaroo, must have been frequenting the haunts of Rip Van Winkle for the past five years. In the State of Ohio, where the S. P. has organizations in many of the smaller cities, there are not, outside of Cleveland and Cincinnati, enough old leathery Kangaroos to get away with a keg of beer in a fortnight. It's all new material, somewhat flabby, of course, and untrained. But usually the boys are trying to live and grow, as best they can, on "looking backward" soup and "Appeal to Reason" soup-bone. Opportunities to secure something more nourishing are not neglected. In Youngstown, after our season of agitation there had come to a close, one young S. P. man purchased and distributed, I am told, a hundred and fifty of OUR pamphlets. Another at Canal Dover told me that he intended to secure twenty-five copies of "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism," and send them to his friends, ("Don't forget to send one to Max Hayes," I suggested). Another at Toledo took my whole supply of the same publication. All of the brightest minds in the S. P. in those towns where the old-fashioned scandal-mongering Kangas have not had an opportunity to get in their work, are themselves growing out of the soft-shell stage. Everywhere in such places, there is manifest a desire to be at one with S. L. P. on all the principles above stated. On the other hand, where the old S. L. P. haters are in the ascendancy, there is an utter confusion of ideas as regards both economic principle and political tactics.

Take Cincinnati, for instance. When one gets up against such a crowd he is thankful that there is a separate national organization "broad" enough for them, thus saving us the trouble of dealing with them at close quarters. They have, in that Hell of all Capitalism, where the very air stultifies a man's moral and physical nature, a "Co-operative Society." This institution "saves five per cent to all consumers." Owned and operated by "Socialists" it claims, so its circular states, "to secure the stores first, the machines and land next, by purchase." The secretary of the concern, a pompous fellow, who evidently never worked and never will, told me that "the S. L. P. is at fault in that it attacks the capitalist class. They are not so bad. The workers should save their money and invest in our Co-operative. We save five per cent on all purchases." We had met in a shoe-shop where another member of the S. P. was humped up over a piece of leather. He groaned and handed me a quarter in payment of a six months' subscription to the Weekly People. Another crowd in S. P. local at Cincinnati is composed of German anarchists who distribute literature on the interesting subject "Dynamite Bombs and the Way to Use Them." They told Comrade Eisenberg that they were "boring from within" the S. P. to make it anarchist. Now compare such an outfit with the S. P. local at Toledo, O. At the latter city a large number of members, we having no organization there, volunteered their assistance at our meetings. They purchased more of our literature than I sold to non-Socialists. Leading members expressed entire agreement with our trades union policy. "A number of young members (glass workers) called on me. In reply to my criticisms of their compromising tactics, one of them said: 'We joined with the Democrats about three years ago, but at that time we knew little of Socialism. Now we wouldn't think of such a thing.'" In Toledo the

local has enforced Party principle with such vigor that I was almost disposed to criticize them, in one case, for going too far, and Toledo is not the only local which I should be glad to welcome, complete, into the S. L. P. This tendency on the part of progressive elements in the S. P., if rightly understood by our membership, points the way "to Italy."

I am everywhere trying to impress upon our comrades the advisability of carrying the message of the S. L. P. direct to the young members of the S. P.; of becoming personally acquainted with them and pointing out that what they are striving to attain within their organization is just what we have fought for these ten years. Suppose yourself to be living in a city where there is no Socialist organization whatever. You are dissatisfied, rebellious, hunting for an answer to the eternal query, "Why am I a slave?" Imagine yourself walking out some summer evening and being attracted by a crowd in the street. An S. P. speaker is denouncing Roosevelt and Parker, Rockefeller and Carnegie. He describes a haven of rest for the workers to be realized if they will only "vote for Debs and subscribe for the 'Appeal to Reason.'" It is the best you have ever heard and your interest grows as you are invited to join an organization and eradicate wage slavery. You join, pay dues, vote for Debs, and read the "Appeal to Reason." The new subject becomes of absorbing interest. You are eager to learn, eager to teach. And then, some fine day, at the bench next you in the shop, there works a man who says that he, also, is a Socialist. "A comrade, then, how fine. Come to our next meeting." How would you like to have that man look at you in a patronizing way and tell you that you were associating with a crowd of fakirs, skates, hypocrites, liars; that you were mighty ignorant of what you were talking about and your vote was worse than wasted? Wouldn't you be more apt to listen if he talked like this: "You have been studying Socialism, have you? I am glad to know it. I have done so myself for several years. What have you read and what are you reading?"

"I have read 'Looking Backward,' by Bellamy, some of Ruskin's works, and a paper called the 'Appeal to Reason.'"

"I read that paper, too, until I found a better, the Weekly People, the official organ of our Party, the Socialist Labor Party. Here is a copy containing an article on the 'class struggle,' in which I know you will be interested."

"Then there are two parties? I did not know that. We have never heard of your party here. Our speakers never said anything about it, and your party never sent any speakers to town."

"What you say is only too true. But our principles are right and from now on we are going to build up here. Yes, I'll come to your meeting to-night, and in return all of you must subscribe for our paper for a year and come to our meeting next week."

Now, which method of approach would induce you to study the tactics of the S. L. P.?

We have often been guilty of condemning men for mere ignorance. A full-fledged Socialist is not grown in a day or a month. To upbraid a man because he knows little of the vast subject of social science is rank stupidity. Of the 302,000 voters who cast their ballot for Debs, I'll warrant that there are not 50,000 who have heard of the S. L. P. except in a vague way; some of us, like very little children, have thought that the working class would come flocking to us just because we stand for what is right and good for that class. But history has not been made in that way. The Socialist propaganda demands consistent work on the part of an army of day and night agitators. If a member of the S. P. next door to you spends his spare time in distributing the best literature published by his party, and you do nothing but go to a meeting of the Section once in a while, which is doing more for Socialism you or he? Bulgaria or Italy? We may not be in either if so many of you miss the golden opportunity offered by this very season. Some twelve thousand readers of The People send in two hundred new subscribers per week. Eleven thousand eight hundred stand around and wait for a chance to ride through to the Socialist Republic on the backs of other people. Should the S. L. P., so finely equipped as it is, fail to do its duty, its place would be taken by other forces now pressing to the front. For great principles do not depend upon certain individuals for expression. But of this, more in the future.

Frank Bohn.  
(To Be Concluded Next Week.)

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

## PLATFORM

Adopted at the Eleventh National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July 1904.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trust and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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copy of their articles, and not to expect  
them to be returned. Consequently, no  
stamps should be sent for return.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1928.....2,048  
In 1932.....21,157  
In 1934.....26,584  
In 1935.....34,191  
In 1936.....53,743

Ring out false pride in place and blood,  
The civic slander and the spite;  
Ring in the love of truth and right,  
Ring in the common love of good.

## ARSON AND DEARTH CAPITALIST PROPS.

The New York "Times" is a capitalist  
paper. It is owned by multi-million-  
aires. During the elections the paper  
was for the "safe and sane Democracy,"  
which is equivalent to saying it was  
a Republican as it was Democratic. A  
less impeccable witness by capitalism  
can not well be imagined, nor one more  
unwilling for the prosecution in the suit  
of Socialism vs. Capitalism, or the Work-  
ing Class vs. the Capitalist Class. It is  
such a witness that we now summon  
to the witness stand.

In its December 31, 1934, issue "The  
Times", in its report entitled "The Fi-  
nancial Markets", makes this statement:

"Cotton broke to the year's minimum,  
this being one of the sequels to an abun-  
dant yield. A MISFORTUNE WHICH,  
IT IS SUGGESTED, MAY BE MINIM-  
IZED BY DESTROYING THE EXCESS  
BY FIRE."

We feel certain that the defendants  
in the suit will not care to cross-ex-  
amine so notable a witness subpoenaed  
out of their own house. We ask him,  
accordingly, to step aside, and we now  
summon to the witness stand a second  
witness, likewise subpoenaed from the  
defendants' own house. Mr. N. C. Mur-  
ray, President of the Farmers' Educa-  
tional and Co-operative Union of Amer-  
ica. Mr. Murray's credentials, as "The  
Times", are his position. The Presi-  
dent of an organization of employers,  
he holds to capitalism as the proper  
thing. Mr. Murray also bawls the  
large crop of cotton; he looks forward  
and sees no prospect of let-up in the  
"misfortune", and his capitalist head  
seeks to avoid the evil consequences.  
In pursuit of this object he has hit  
upon a plan. He said in Dallas, Tex., on  
December 26, 1934:

"Next year I want to see the acreage  
REDUCED at least 20 per cent. That is  
THE ONLY SALVATION OF THE  
COTTON-RAISING INDUSTRY OF  
THE SOUTH."

Mr. Murray may now leave the court  
together with "The Times."

Never the witness upholders of  
the capitalist system and their "econ-  
omies" overturned by Socialism; when-  
ever they find their claims, that the  
condition of the Working Class is improv-  
ing, pounded to dust by Socialist facts;  
whenever they find their pretence, that  
capitalism offers free opportunities to  
all, made mine meat of by the irre-  
futable Socialist reasoning which proves  
that under capitalism the opportunities  
become ever fewer for the masses and  
the future for these ever blacker; when-  
ever their affection of love for "in-  
dividuality" is torn to pieces by the So-  
cialist logic which proves that capital-  
ism is a destroyer of individuality and  
a breeder of despotism;—Whenever, in  
short, the upholders of capitalism are rou-  
ted by Socialism they drop the mask of  
"democracy", of "Christianity", and of  
what not, and, putting on a bold front,  
declare:

"That may all be true, but it cannot  
be helped. Nature so wills it. Everybody  
can not be well off. There is not wealth  
enough to make us all rich. Some must  
be poor."

This claim is as false as any other  
advanced by capitalism. It is not true  
that Nature so wills it that pauperism  
must be the lot of the masses; it is  
not true that there is not wealth enough  
for all. The reverse of all that is the  
truth. As far as Nature herself is con-  
cerned, she is bountiful, and, aided by  
the social contrivances of civilization,  
an industrial people can raise an abun-  
dant of wealth for all with but little  
physical exertion. Such, however, is  
not the condition in modern society. In  
modern capitalist-run society there is,  
instead, not wealth enough for all. Why  
not? Are Nature and man's skill to

## IT HAD TO BE.

The debate now in progress in the  
"Record and Guide", the real estate jour-  
nal of this city, on the workings of arbi-  
tration between employers and employes  
in the building trades, is acting like a  
plow that throws up many a valuable  
fact of hidden information. One of  
these facts goes directly to the exem-  
plification of the sort of thing that is  
passing current for "Unionism."

The fact to which we here wish to  
call attention is furnished by George J.  
Bohnen of the Brotherhood of Carpen-  
ters. Mr. Bohnen quotes clause 15 of the  
arbitration agreement—"The members of  
this association agree to employ mem-  
bers of the Trades Union only, directly  
or indirectly, when parties to this agree-  
ment." The clause obviously means  
that only Union men who are parties to  
the agreement can be employed. This  
clause Mr. Bohnen shows was violated  
by the employers in the instance of the  
Van Norden Trust Company building  
at Fifth Avenue and Sixtieth Street.

The employers sublet certain carpenter  
work to the George C. Flint Company,  
which was also a party to the arbitra-  
tion agreement. The Flint Company,  
however, as soon as it obtained the con-  
tract, discharged about sixty-five Union  
men, and sublet certain "trim," which  
these men would ordinarily have done, to  
a Pawtucket concern. That this was a  
violation of the arbitration agreement  
is obvious. But this is not the point of  
real interest raised by Mr. Bohnen. The  
point of interest at this moment is that  
Mr. Bohnen insists strenuously that the  
work farmed out to Pawtucket carpen-  
ters belonged to the New York members  
of the Union. There is no contention  
that the Pawtucket men were non-Union;  
for all we know they are the Pawtucket  
branch of Mr. Bohnen's New York or-  
ganization. In other words, Mr. Boh-  
nen's Trades Union attitude is that it is  
proper "Unionism" for the local of one  
place to seek to exclude the local of an-  
other place. That Mr. Bohnen plants  
himself upon the agreement with the em-  
ployers does not improve matters in this  
respect. On the contrary, it aggravates  
the absurdity of Mr. Bohnen's "Union"  
claims. No doubt the employer broke  
faith, but faith in what? In "Union-  
ism"? By no means. He broke faith  
with Mr. Bohnen on a matter in which  
Mr. Bohnen repudiated the ethics of  
bona fide Unionism. He broke faith  
with a faithless man. Mr. Bohnen's  
"Unionism," being nothing but a dis-  
guised guild, or capitalist concern, he  
placed himself by his agreement outside  
of the pale of "Unionism" and upon the  
capitalist field of competition against  
Labor.

And such a thing as Mr. Bohnen  
stands for passes for "Unionism"! Unionism, bona fide Unionism, is the  
economic organization of the Working  
Class against the Capitalist Class. Such  
an organization is integral. It knows  
no Pawtucket or New York. It knows  
only the Working Class, and wherever  
these are found they belong in the or-  
ganization and under the organization's  
wings. Any "agreement" with the foe  
that infringes this fundamental principle  
is treason to Labor. It throws the  
signer of the agreement outside the  
ranks of Labor and into the ranks of  
Capitalism. No wonder Mr. Bohnen  
was worried by the employers. He left  
the camp that can roll the employers in  
the dust in order to try conclusions  
with the employers upon the employers'  
own field of capitalist chicanery. Labor  
can never win there. That it would de-  
fraud was a foregone conclusion.

CHILLING AT ITS HEART.  
Mr. Leonard Courtney, a gentleman  
who enjoys the reputation of being a  
veteran English publicist, has an article  
in the "Monthly Review" in which he be-  
littles what he calls the decline of Parlia-  
ment within his recollection. Mr. Court-  
ney's attitude is not that of an intelligent  
mourner at the death-bed of a friend  
or relative, who is dissolving under the  
decrepitude of old age; his attitude is that  
of a child that wails at the absence of  
robust companionship in the parent, now  
time-worn, who once assisted in the  
child's romps.

Of course Parliament is declining in  
men of noble enthusiasm. So are all  
legislative bodies of capitalism. Inevitably  
so. Enthusiasm, the enthus-  
iasm that breeds noble aspirations and  
thoughts and expresses these in eloquent  
speeches is possible only with a class  
that has its future before it, in other  
words, with a class that has a historic  
mission to fulfill. A class whose mission  
is done wilts. The mission of capitalism  
was stupendous. It was nothing short  
of bringing about the conditions for  
human freedom. Without the possibility  
of material wellbeing for all, slavery in  
some form or other is the lot of the  
masses. It was the mission of capitalism  
to develop and organize production in  
such manner as to assure the possi-  
bility of the material foundation for  
freedom. The noble task ennobled the  
artisan. It bred conviction in his breast,  
it inspired his mind. Exhilarating was  
the work of striking the feudal shackles  
from society, doubly exhilarating the

work of hurling the then tyrant from  
his throne, and every fibre tingled with  
the consciousness of importance. The  
mighty impulse produced titans and these  
appeared both within and without Parlia-  
ments. Classic pages in George Eliot's  
works and in Eugene Sue's notable "His-  
tory of a Proletarian Family" attest to  
the inspired labors of that generation on  
the seemingly humble field of economics,  
while history, as reflected on the more  
conspicuous field of politics, records their  
feats in parliaments. That was the  
period of capitalist virility, and it ex-  
tended down to the middle of last cen-  
tury. Since then the decline set in. The  
task of capitalism was performed; its  
mission was at end.

As many a man survives his useful-  
ness, and the decrepitude of old age is  
then but a hindrance to his successors,  
so with capitalism. Its actual task ful-  
filled, capitalism now lingers on the  
stage, attendant of the moment when its  
successor, Socialism, shall take the reins.  
No wonder there is atrophy in the mod-  
ern parliament. When ever did senility  
inspire the human heart and mind?  
Senility looks backward, it is crotchety,  
it palsies. For the one-time zeal of the  
capitalist revolutionist we must look to  
the Socialist camp. The divine spark  
has passed to it.

Mr. Leonard Courtney's wail is no  
credit to his understanding. To the So-  
cialist ear, however, the wail is music.  
It has the effect of the deep note of the  
muffled rumblings of the rising tide, rise-  
ing over slowly shelving banks by the  
glimmer of breaking dawn, accompanied  
by the whisperings of the soft inshore  
breeze on a clear, promiseful spring  
morning. The symptoms of the ap-  
proach of Socialism multiply. For one  
thing, capitalism is being chilled at its  
heart.

## STONE-BLIND OF ONE EYE.

Mr. George J. Bohnen of the Brother-  
hood of Carpenters is engaged in a de-  
bate that is now in progress in the "Re-  
cord and Guide" and which has for its  
purpose, on his part, to show that the  
arbitration agreement between the em-  
ployers and the employes in the build-  
ing trades is a sham, a snare and a delu-  
sion—in so far as the employes are con-  
cerned.

Mr. Bohnen suggests the following  
analogy to prove his conclusion: "Sup-  
pose that Russia should overwhelmingly  
defeat Japan in the present war. As one  
of the terms of peace it might oblige  
Japan to sign an arbitration treaty,  
framed entirely by the czar's commis-  
sioners. Then Russia might establish  
its arbitration tribunal at St. Petersburg,  
appoint its chief officers without consult-  
ing Japan, and pay them out of its own  
exchequer. This arrangement would hard-  
ly be hailed by peace congresses as a  
notable contribution to the cause of  
international arbitration. It is precisely  
this which the Employers' Association  
has done. Its failure, therefore, was in-  
evitable. An arbitration agreement forced  
upon the arbitrators is a contradiction  
in terms; the spirit of conciliation is  
absolutely essential."

The analogy is excellent. The build-  
ing trades had been weakened by a pro-  
longed lockout. Thereupon the so-called  
arbitration agreement was forced upon  
them by the victors, and the office of  
the arbitration secretary was set up at  
the Employers' Club. So far Mr. Bohnen's  
optics seem to be A. No. 1. But he does  
not stop there. He proceeds to say that  
in order to have a fair arbitration agree-  
ment a parliament of workmen and  
employers must be held who shall jointly  
draw up a new treaty. In other words,  
Mr. Bohnen is stone-blind of one eye.

The "arbitration" that Mr. Bohnen  
supposes between Japan and Russia he  
shows to be a sham. It is a sham be-  
cause one of the parties was beaten, and  
consequently the "arbitration" could only  
be one-sided, a decree of the vanquisher  
against the hopelessly vanquished.

What is the plight of Labor? It is the  
plight of the HOPELESSLY VAN-  
QUISHED. TO say employer and employe,  
capitalist and workman, is to say  
vanquisher and hopelessly vanquished on  
the economic field of battle. Lockouts  
and lost strikes that crush the workmen  
are but "rubblings-in" of the status of  
"hopelessly vanquished"; they are but  
underscorings of the fact that the work-  
ing class is a subject class, the capitalist  
class a master class. For the same reason  
that the supposed arbitration between  
Russia and Japan would be a sham, all  
arbitrations between Capital and Labor  
are shams, and can be nothing but  
shams. Where there is the capitalist  
there is the victorious tyrant; where  
there is the working class there is the  
beaten down wage slave. "Working class"  
means that. There is nothing to arbi-  
trate between the two. One or the  
other must down. That's the only  
solution,—all of which Mr. Bohnen's pure  
and simple training prevents him from  
seeing. He actually imagines the Work-  
ing Class stands at a par with the Cap-  
italist class and there is a fair arbitration  
possible between the two.

While Mr. Bohnen's left eye is in per-  
fect condition, he is stone-blind of the  
right one.

The "Success" writers are developing  
a new theory. It is called "side lines."  
According to these writers, "side lines"  
are a means of "occupying one's spare  
time profitably," "gaining increased in-  
dependence," etc., while pursuing a daily  
occupation. These definitions, however,  
are more grandiloquent and imaginative  
than real, in most cases. In these, "side  
lines" are additional occupations entered  
into for the purpose of making good the  
deficit in wages that characterizes "regu-  
lar" employment. "Side lines", in this  
sense, were long known before the "Suc-  
cess" writers exploited them. In many  
states, the industrial workers—miners,  
textile operatives, etc.—in the agricul-  
tural districts, make farming a "side  
line," i. e., an additional means of eking  
out a living. In this city, the writer  
has worked with glassblowers who were  
waiters and ushers at night; and litho-  
graphic artists who are designers and  
illustrators whenever opportunity pre-  
sents itself to "make" a few additional  
dollars. He has met men who buy and  
sell various articles in the same way,  
men with trades and professions that are  
in no wise remarkable for the payment  
of excessive wages and salaries. News-  
paper work is a "side line" with many  
professional men. Insurance and frat-  
ernal orders appeal to physicians, as  
such. Even the housewife has "side  
lines"; furnished rooms, washing, jan-  
itoring, and "home work," i. e., croch-  
eting, etc., for jobbers, being among them.  
So it goes on all sides—men and women  
toiling in other than their regular oc-  
cupations in order to increase their  
small wages and make their position in  
life more secure. And they do this in  
the face of considerable opposition, as  
the men and women regularly engaged  
in the callings and professions they in-  
vade, regard them as amateurs, substi-  
tutes and interlopers, who only serve  
to overcrowd, reduce wages, and make  
conditions worse than they are. It is  
thus they gain "greater independence,"  
forsooth! But it is this very condition  
of overcrowding and wage reduction  
that the "Success" exploiters of "side  
lines" are consciously or unconsciously  
bringing about. Generally speaking, the  
doctrines of the "Success" writers tend  
only to intensify the strenuous tussle  
for existence, in that they appeal to an-  
bitutions that are impossible of general  
realization within the limits of present  
society. The very division of labor pre-  
vailing—not to mention the private own-  
ership of capital—makes it a dream to  
expect that the great mass of the popu-  
lation can become "captains of indus-  
try," or enjoy the opportunities that will  
enable them to develop into great and  
learned men. In present society most  
of the population is struggling for bare  
existence, while an evergrowing fraction  
is on the lookout for a job of any kind.  
With men and women pursuing "side  
lines," i. e., overrunning one another's  
trades, professions, and callings, in or-  
der to eke out a living, this struggle,  
and this hunt for a job, become more  
intense. The labor market becomes over-  
crowded, and the capitalists are enabled  
to reduce wages. This constitutes the  
"success" of the "Success" writers.

The following appears in "Men's  
Wear":  
"Fighting the Department Store in  
Germany.—At Berlin a resolution asking  
the government to introduce a bill for  
the protection of the middle commercial  
classes against the great accumulations  
of capital in the retail trade was adopted  
by the Reichstag. The resolution con-  
templated a further extension of the law  
against unfair competition and the regu-  
lation of closing out sales, so as to pre-  
vent bogus advertisements, and also  
sought a remedy against the hardships  
caused by sales on the installment plan.  
The Socialists opposed the resolution at  
every point."  
From which it is seen that Germany  
also has middle class reformers who are  
trying to patch up the capitalist system  
by ineffectual attempts to stop the ten-  
dency to concentration.

Dr. Spitzka, of Columbia University,  
says that after a thorough study and  
investigation of several years he has  
concluded that crime cannot be attrib-  
uted to any deficiency of the brain. He  
claims that a study of criminals does not  
show the existence of a criminal type.  
"The social conditions," says the doctor,  
"which foster the great majority of  
crimes are more needful of study." If the  
doctor does not watch his utterances Co-  
lumbia will be handing him his walking  
papers.

"The Erie People," "Socialist" party  
weekly, which was resuscitated prior to  
election, has again turned up its toes.  
That "big increase in Socialist votes,"  
seems destined to have its counterpart in  
a big increase in deceased "Socialist"  
publications.

"The Iowa Socialist," a "Socialist" party  
paper, has joined the increasing num-  
ber of defunct "Socialist" weeklies.  
What's the matter with "the big in-  
crease in the Socialist vote"? It looks to  
be all wrong.

## H. M. HYNDMAN

His Attitude to the Working Class—  
Wants to Be a "Millerand."

(From "The Socialist," Edinburgh,  
Scotland, Official Organ S. L. P.  
of Great Britain.)

In another part of our columns we re-  
produce an article entitled "True Republi-  
cans," published in "Le Socialiste," the  
official organ of the Socialist Labor Party  
of France, which gives a catalogue of  
the prominent leaders of reformist or  
bourgeois socialism in the continent,  
with running comments upon each.  
Let our continental comrades should  
unduly exalt themselves on the score of  
this list of brilliant "statesmen," we  
hasten to publish the following letter, to  
prove that although we cannot in this  
country boast of a Socialist organization  
possessing the same numerical strength  
as that of the continent, nevertheless we  
possess reformists who are well worthy  
of a place in the "Chamber of Horrors"  
of International Socialism.

The following letter was sent to Neil  
Maclean, at that time secretary to the  
Glasgow Clarion Scouts:

9 Queen Anne's Gate (London),  
Sept 3, 1900.

Dear Comrade,  
I don't mind saying that I am utterly  
disgusted with the workers here in gen-  
eral, and with our own party in par-  
ticular. Neither deserve to have men  
of ability from the educated class to  
serve them. It is a waste of life. They  
are not worth the personal sacrifice and  
continuous worry. Liebknecht, at any  
rate, had the satisfaction of feeling the  
movement going well under him all his  
life. All I have done is to cramp the  
exercise of my own faculties to no pur-  
pose. I could have done more good and  
saved more mischief if I had gone into  
high office years ago.

I will come down to Glasgow in Feb-  
ruary, more because there are some good  
fellows there like yourself, who are  
worth working for, than because I think  
we shall gain very much. When I come  
I shall, of course, do my best.

Your fraternally,  
H. M. Hyndman.

We have little to say with regard to  
Mr. Hyndman's strictures upon the S.  
D. F. We have been "utterly disgusted"  
with that body ourselves long ago. Cer-  
tainly on such a subject his knowledge  
must be extensive and accurate, and his  
opinion is to be treated with respect.  
But even at that we are of opinion that  
Mr. Hyndman is poached upon S. L. P.  
preserves when he holds forth upon the  
"utterly disgusting" nature of his party,  
and in the interests of fair play, we must  
protest against this example of the pot-  
ter's abuse of the pot. For Mr. Hynd-  
man is the last man in the world who  
should attack his party in this unparis-  
fashion. For 20 odd years he has shaped,  
molded, and controlled its policy and  
tactics. Its faults are his faults. The  
writer of these notes, though brought up  
on the shorter catechism and the tawse  
in his earlier days, is not such a big-  
otted Calvinist as to pass without pro-  
test a statement of the right of the  
Creator to predestinate the creature to a  
certain course and then "impute its fall  
to sin," either in the theological or po-  
litical realm, although, thank heaven,  
the latter is the only sphere that this  
paper is concerned with. When Mr. Hynd-  
man accuses his own party, he accuses  
himself—he proclaims his own failure  
from the housetops. He is like a petu-  
lar child who squashes his mud pies be-  
cause they won't come out the right  
shape. Neither does his criticism of the  
working class require much refutation.

The working class is the only useful,  
virile class in the nation—the only class  
that is not in a state of decadence. Its  
contemptuous refusal to associate itself  
with the S. D. F. is not only natural, but  
credible. The distrust and contempt  
with which this body has consistently  
regarded the workers has been met by a  
similar attitude on their part. The work-  
ers refuse to allow themselves to be used  
by a party that insults them in order to  
gain political status for two or three  
middle class men and fakirs. This men-  
tal attitude explains the whole history  
of the S. F. D. A party that disbe-  
lieves in the capacity of the workers to  
emancipate themselves naturally lends it-  
self to compromise and betrayal. With  
the Socialist it is different. He knows  
his class; he is in touch with it and be-  
lieves in its power to work out its own  
salvation. Consequently, to him corrup-  
tion and intrigue, side tracks and short  
cuts, are out of the question. In his  
class, and his class alone, his reliance is  
fixed.

It is only fair to our comrade Maclean  
to say in conclusion that any stigma that  
may be thought to attach to the fact of  
his being complimented by Mr. Hyndman  
four years ago, has been more than wip-  
ed out by his solid, consistent and un-  
tiring work for Socialism since then.

If you receive a sample copy of this  
paper it is an invitation to subscribe.



UNCLE SAM AND  
BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Socialism  
is simply ridiculous.

UNCLE SAM—Well, well!

B. J.—It is worst than ridiculous; it  
is wrongful.

U. S.—Better and better.

B. J.—It would make ninnies out of  
men.

U. S.—You are becoming interesting.

B. J.—What makes men strong is  
trials and hardships; remove trials and  
hardships from the path of men and  
they will become jelly fishes. Look at  
our galaxy of self-made men. But for  
them the country would not be what it  
is; but for the hardship and trials which  
they had to contend with they would  
not have been what they are. Look at  
me. I can now draw my check for a  
million. I am a self-made man. I know  
how good it is to rough it in early life;  
to sleep on straw and learn what it is  
to have temptations in your path. (Strik-  
ing his chest.) That's what makes the  
men. I speak from experience. Social-  
ism would be no better than a plague—a  
plague upon it, and long live our glorious  
institutions!

U. S. (shaking his head pensively and  
a smile peeping at the corner of his  
mouth)—"Hardships and temptations in  
early life" are part of the institutions  
you claim as ours?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Without them the nation would  
cease to have men?

B. J.—Yes, sir.

U. S. (after a pause)—By the way,  
Jonathan, turning to something else, are  
you getting into litigations, or trouble  
of that sort?

B. J.—No; why?

U. S.—I saw you going up into Lawyer  
Seth Chetani's office yesterday morn-  
ing.

B. J.—Yes, I did. But it was no law-  
suit. (Confidentially approaching Uncle  
Sam.) You see, I am getting old. I  
may at any time be taken off. The  
rheumatism is gaining on me, and the  
doctor tells me my heart is affected. I  
wish to settle my affairs. My five boys  
and my two daughters should be pro-  
vided for. I don't want to leave things  
so that any crook might come around  
and leave these children penniless and  
unprotected.

U. S. (with mock solemnity grab-  
bing Brother Jonathan by the collar with  
both hands and shakes him)—Traitor.

B. J.—W-h-a-t!

U. S. (still shaking B. J.)—Traitor!  
I say.

B. J.—I a traitor?

U. S.—Yes! Traitor to your country,  
foe to our "glorious institutions of  
hardships and temptations in early life,"  
base demoralizer of our young folks by  
seeking to make them like jelly fishes;  
weaker of our American manhood!  
(Giving Brother Jonathan a final shake.)  
Traitor, who should be indicted, hanged  
and quartered, make your peace with  
heaven; I am going to inform upon you  
and see to it that you get the deserts of  
your traitorous plan.

B. J. (catching his breath)—Are you  
gone crazy?

U. S. (with increased mock solemnity)  
—No, sir; I am a patriot, I am. And  
when I see a man deliberately trying to  
undermine our "glorious institutions of  
hardships and temptations in early life,"  
my blood boils, and I cry "Brood, brood  
Jargo, brood!"

B. J. (amazed)—You must be gone  
crazy.

U. S.—Did you not a minute ago say  
that you owe your great success, your  
manliness, etc., to the hardships, priva-  
tions and temptations that you had to  
go through in early life?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And did you not say that such  
early trials it is that build up the man?

B. J. (beginning to smell a rat)—We  
—yes.

U. S.—And did you not say that wit-  
out such trials—tried men, the count  
could not exist?

B. J.—Yes, I—I did.

U. S.—And all that notwithstanding  
you go about it deliberately to deprive  
your children of a chance to become  
trials-tried men and women by leaving  
over a million to them, so that they may

(Continued on page 8.)



## CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS. BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

## GRAFT IN THE "SOCIALIST" PARTY AND THE INEVITABLE SPLIT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The young members of the "Socialist" party here had their eyes opened during the A. F. of L. convention. They now see and understand the nature of the bogus Socialist, otherwise known as the Kangaroo.

The kangaroo is an animal of many virtues. One of these is the care of the young, who are carried around in a pocket near the heart, which Nature has given. The American bogus Socialist or Kangaroo, though resembling the other in many respects, can give it points on how that pocket can be used to greater advantage than carrying the innocent young. Though nature has not bestowed pockets on the American Kangaroo for that purpose, John Bardahn, a Kangaroo tailor of this city, stands ready and willing to furnish them with pockets, and he solicits their trade. He not only solicits the Kangaroo trade, but when the "Labor Mayor" of San Francisco, offered to appoint him election commissioner, he refused and asked to be appointed school commissioner in order that he might be enabled to start a new department in his tailoring establishment, namely a ladies tailoring department. Sabe?

The members of the State Committee of the "Socialist" party from San Francisco are P. Whitney, G. B. Wells, W. H. Ross, Mr. Phelan, Geo. Williams, Wm. Costley, A. M. Goldman, Robt. Fleming and John Messer. Almost all of them have a record. Whitney is a member of the Carmen's Union, and ran for Treasurer of that organization, when it was the only paying office to be held. He was also candidate for Lieutenant Governor of the "Socialist" party in 1902, when a deal was entered into between that party and Schmidt's "Union Labor" party, by which the U. L. P. endorsed the S. P.'s state ticket in return for the S. P.'s endorsement of their assembly candidates. The latter candidates were also endorsed by the Democratic party. Wells is an ex-populist. Having "gone through all the stages of evolution," he makes Bryan speeches, calling them "Socialist." Ross is a push-cart bourgeois; Williams a wage-slave who maintains that the working class has no intelligence enough to accomplish its own emancipation, and must, therefore, look to the middle class for "brains." Goldman runs one of the worst sweat shops in the city. Fleming voted for fusion with the U. L. P., as told above. Messer asked the "labor mayor" for a job, and was found guilty by his own local of misappropriating funds. He was forced to resign his office when, in addition to the foregoing, it was found he was short in his accounts. He remains a member, nevertheless; the grafters in control of the local, being afraid that their turn will come next, if they permit further proceedings against Messer.

A great many other things are taking place in local San Francisco, according to a circular recently issued by some of its members. In this circular, Benham, Leiss, and other former members of the Socialist Labor Party who led the Kangaroo movement here, are denounced as traitors. This circular also states that John Bardahn was expelled from the "Socialist" party when it was discovered that he tried to secure the appointment of election commissioner in OPPOSITION TO THE MEMBERS SELECTED BY THE PARTY FOR THAT OFFICE. Bardahn, as stated above, refused the appointment, when proffered, and asked for another. It was claimed that though he was found guilty, he could not be expelled on constitutional grounds, according to their own records.

We now see the difference between the Australian Kangaroo and the American one, sometimes called "Socialist." Instead of smuggling away the young in their pockets, the American Kangaroo puts something harder there—very hard and very cold: cash. After having imposed on their young in this manner, the latter grow suspicious. To them, it appeared, that the grand, eloquent talk of the American kangaroo and their actions were at variance. They, accordingly, began reading Socialist Labor Party literature and took more stock in what the S. L. P. said, their attention being called especially to the grafting which was going on right in their own midst. When Lewis, the great English professor, told a number of proletarians that he could not recommend to them De Leon's pamphlet, "Reform or Re-

volution?" on account of the butchered English in it, they caught on, as a great many had read it and understood the difference between one who skims the surface, as shown in his actions, and one who has stuck deep into the roots of the over-ripe conditions of capitalism. Lewis also overshot the mark in another respect. Even if the English language was butchered in that pamphlet, as long as facts are piled on mountain high, the proletarian does not care a snap; and when the intellectuals appeal to grammatical correction against such a classic work as "Reform or Revolution?" the appeal falls on deaf ears in the ranks of the working class.

Just so with the aforesaid men and boys in the ranks of the "Socialist" party. They saw through the intellectuals. They inaugurated a fight against the intellectuals, which culminated in the organizing of a Marxian Club to educate the wage workers on true Socialist lines. In the work of education, they found it necessary to buy and sell literature in pamphlet form. This they could not obtain through any other party but the Socialist Labor Party. Now they are hailing most all of our literature. One of them asked me if it was not hard for us to sell our pamphlets, as they found it hard to dispose of them. They do not seem to realize that the kind of a crowd that listens to the "Socialist" party speakers prefer the trashy stuff of Hanford, McGrady, etc., to straight, uncompromising revolutionary literature, such as the S. L. P. publishes.

These men and boys are honest enough, but it takes many hard knocks in order to look at things through revolutionary glasses. At all events, they are the first offspring of a class conscious move within the bogus Socialist, alias Kangaroo party. Things have been brought home to them to such an extent lately, that he who would not see must surely be blind.

For every split here, the bogus Socialists give an extra holler that "the Socialist Labor Party is dead." Section San Francisco has now 7 speakers and our propaganda is carried on in a vigorous way, which has had its effect.

Fred Sibart.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 16.

## PROFITABLE DISCRIMINATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Happening into a short conversation with a section foreman a few days ago on a street car, I learned that he was on his way to hire men to work on the road which employed him. He showed me the order from the Railroad Co. which read: "Pay all foreigners \$1.50 per day and Americans \$1.25." He said, "I propose to reverse the order." Why this order?

Here is the answer: he told me "I have fifteen Italians working for me and one of them called me aside after they started yesterday and said 'every man—one dollar—you—pay day.'"

W. W. Cox.

East St. Louis, Ill., Dec. 24, 1904.

## "FIRE LOW"—WHAT IT MEANS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Col. E. E. Britton, in addressing the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Twenty-Third Regiment, Brooklyn, Monday, Dec. 12, on the duty of troops in suppressing strikes, laid particular stress on aiming low. In the "Soldier's Handbook," U. S. Army, Revised, 1896, War Department Document No. 66, Office of the Adjutant General, on p. 64, paragraph 19, the following may be read:

"Fire low. A bullet through the abdomen (belly or stomach) is more certainly fatal than if aimed at the head or heart; for, in the latter cases the ball is often glanced off by the bone, or follows around under the skin. But when it enters the stomach or bowels from any direction, death is inevitable, but scarcely instantaneous. Generally the persons live a day or two, with perfect clearness of intellect, often not suffering greatly. The practical bearing of this statement in reference to the future is clear. Fire low."

The above shows clearly how the Regular Army and Militia are trained to shoot down the wage slaves when they strike for better conditions.

These institutions are composed of the cream, physically, of the proletariat of the nation and state. The duty of the S. L. P. with reference to them should be also to "fire low," i. e., we should wound Capitalism fatally by making known to the workers the functions of these institutions. With the workers, aware of the fact that these institutions divide the working class against itself, raising capitalist profit

and property above human life and progress, we can undermine the foundations of the Army and Militia and render them harmless. The best means to these ends are The Daily and Weekly People. Push them. FIRE LOW.

An Ex-Soldier.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 26.

## THE AMERICAN (JAURES) REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Are we in a lunatic asylum or on an island of escaped convicts? That is the question a Socialist would ask himself if he visited Columbus and attended two or three meetings of the "Socialist" party local. A few weeks ago I visited this local and the question discussed was the Dresden-Amsterdam resolution. They all favored the clause that reads, "The Social Democracy can strive for no participation in the Government under bourgeois society." Every clear-headed Socialist would certainly come to the conclusion, after attending such a meeting that those men are drifting towards clearness. So far a Socialist judge would pronounce them sane.

Since that visit, one of their leading members, Henderson, by name, and last fall a candidate on the Ohio "Socialist" party ticket, and one of their speakers of sound (sic) socialist truths, was tendered a position as Park Commissioner—by whom?—why by "our" Republican Mayor! This Mayor is a son of Mr. Jeffery, of the Jeffery Manufacturing Co. Mr. Jeffery, Jr., is, I understand, the secretary of Parry's Industrial Alliance of America.

At last Sunday's meeting of Local Columbus "Socialist" party, Mr. Henderson acted as chairman, owing to his elevation from laborer to Park Commissioner. He told the members how he was introduced to the leading business men of this city, who are likewise on that board, and he assured the members that the laboring men's interests would be faithfully attended to while he was on that commission. After he got through the members of local Columbus all approved of what he said and they also approved his acceptance of Park Commissioner.

Now then, Mr. Socialist Judge, tell me, are we in a lunatic asylum or on an island of escaped convicts?

Otto Steinhoff.

Columbus, O., Dec. 27.

## "SOCIALISM NOW," WITH MILLER SYNDICATE PROFITS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I herewith enclose something rich pertaining to the "Great First National Co-operative Society," that Wayland is booming, and that an advertisement in his paper calls "Practical Socialism," at the same time that he tries to justify the private ownership of his paper on the ground that "co-operation" is not possible under Capitalism. Just look through those well got-up circulars. You will get a few good hearty Xmas laughs before you finish reading the contents of the fly-papers. For, it is inferentially shown therein, that the Standard Oil Co., the Civil Service Co-operative Supply Association of London, the Chemical National bank of New York, and other big capitalist concerns, are "co-operative institutions," and therefore "Practical Socialism," according to Wayland and those Chicago exploiters.

Just look over the list of "Officers and Managers." It is strange they leave out the Goulds and Vanderbilts, as the latter ought to be in the shipping and freight departments. The readers of the "Appeal to Reason" should lose no time in securing stock in the "Great Co-operative Society," or they may lose those "15, 20, 40, and 50 per cent. opportunities."

Wayland must have proven to the satisfaction of the advertising agents for the great "Co-op" that the "Appeal to Reason" is a first-class medium for reaching the gullible among the "600,000 Socialist voters," but it would not need much talk from Wayland to convince the advertising agents of the fertile field for sowing "Socialist Co-operative Stock Certificates" in, as they are wide-awake gentlemen, and know Wayland has ploughed the land well, and is now ready to give his readers "Socialism now," with "the net profits of 40, 50, or even 100 per cent. per annum," thrown in, for the prospectus says, "this is a conservative estimate of the earnings of this successful business." You don't have to go to the Klondike to get rich quick—just buy \$10 certificates in the great "Co-op," for it is "English you know," and "Practical Socialism Now," and will soon gobble up the Standard Oil Co. and all other such petty concerns.

Read the prospectus. It beats Barnum! You will see that it won't be long before very department store and mail order house in the country will be "Co-operative stores," in order to catch the gullible. Let the Chicago comrades keep tabs on those "Socialist" concerns. They will learn some practical lessons in labor fleeing.

Keep the S. L. P. searchlight turned on the bogus brigade.

J. A. Barron.

Dickson City, Pa., Dec. 27.  
(The documents are in this office for inspection.)

## CHRISTMAS THOUGHTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Christmas, with its joys for a few and misery and sorrow for the many, has once more passed away when this is read.

The class-conscious workman and his family will, in spite of unwarranted need, yet rejoice in the happy thought that we are nearer to the time when we may live and enjoy the fruits of our toil, and have well-fed, clothed and honored men, women and children.

The capitalist class reveling in ill-gotten luxury and plenty, put themselves on their contented plunches and say, "Thus far we are masters of the situation; thus far have we led ourselves to plenty; and we, the captains of industry and managers of the globe, have also provided the agents who represents us, with a few crumbs for the poor, under the name of charity."

Comrades in this city and vicinity, let me have a few words to say to you.

If you lay claim that you do understand this miserable system and know the solution for bettering the conditions of our class, you must then also know that the change cannot be brought about by non-activity. If we as Socialists have the solution, it is our duty to let those whom do not know, know. When the mountain did not come to Mahomet he went to it. If we wish—do we?—our doctrine to be known we must become more active.

How many Socialists have we in this city? Last election returns show the figure to be six hundred. Is it possible that among those is fifty willing to be active? If so we could indeed carry on a war upon capitalism in this section that would leave a mark. January 7, 1905, has been selected as a starter. If there be any material to be built on in this town "heap it up" at 642 Newark avenue. On that date, when we will have a general meeting, with good speakers, be there. Bring your plans along. Let us go to work NOW.

N. M. Hemberg.

Jersey City, N. J., Dec. 25.

## MUNICIPAL PROGRAMS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A shining example of what the mis-called "Socialist" party's municipal program amounts to has been vividly demonstrated in Los Angeles recently. The incident is worthy of mention in The People as going to show what a beautiful pickle any Socialist representative will get into by supporting legislation which does not directly bear on the welfare of the proletariat.

An ordinance was passed by the council of that city limiting all future franchises that may be issued, to twenty-one years. The president of the combined street railway company immediately came out with the statement that his company would make no more extensions to its lines so long as such restrictions were demanded.

What a forceful illustration of the difference between middle-class Socialism and revolutionary Socialism! How well it shows the reactionary methods the middle-class adopt—no matter how much it may retard the industrial development of society—in their efforts to keep themselves from being wiped out. Such efforts on their part is, of course, to be expected. But for an organization, claiming, as the "Socialist" party does, to represent the working-class, and embodying in its municipal program this very identical legislation, is more than sufficient to prove its pseudo character.

In a sense, the limiting of franchises is an actual injury to the working class. In checking enterprises (which such a limitation unquestionably does, as proved in this instance) the condition of the working class is made harder, the chances for work becomes narrower and the competition grows fiercer among them for jobs.

Every Socialist knows that before Socialism can be established the capitalist system must run its course. The issuance of unlimited franchises has no fear for him. He knows that when the critical moment arrives, the capitalist system must fall of its own weight. He also knows that when the working class have gained the might (through the conquest of political power if possible, through others means if necessary), at that moment he has gained the RIGHT to take these public utilities—along with the other instruments of production and distribution—and to run them in the interests of all, instead of as they are now run—in the interest of a few.

The muddledon of that party, reflected by the stupidity of its representatives who have recently been elected to the different legislative, and executive bodies, when they attempt to carry out their municipal program, will surely tend to illuminate the clearness and genuineness of the Socialist Labor Party as bearing out the latter's contention that

it is the true representative of the working class.

Chas. H. Ross.

Johannesburg, Cal., Dec. 20.

## A QUARRY FOR SOCIALIST ARGUMENT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Looking at our vote makes me think that there are 30 odd thousand votes. This implies that the difference between our vote and the subscription list of the Daily and Weekly People are out of proportion. I see nothing discouraging in this fact, but this condition most emphatically calls for a systematic and energetic campaign. In the Daily and Weekly People we have Socialist papers par excellence; papers that I know personally have been used in certain quarters of the Debsite camp as a quarry for argument, rather than the sheets that pass in sight of the Debsites. I recall the case of a man who denied that Ford, who was running on the S. D. P. ticket in an Eastern state, ever said that many of the S. D. P. speakers were incompetent to make Socialists, coming up to our headquarters to verify his statement, and from no other source that the Weekly People. He was satisfied that The People told the truth, and so am I.

The spread of our papers is a business proposition, comrades. If you are not in a position to swell the list, see to it that someone competent to do so is put in a position to do it. When a speaker who is a competent exponent of our aims arrives at any point, his meetings should be well advertised, so that others besides sympathizers, will get an opportunity to learn of their material interests.

In view of the trash dished out in the Debs camp, we have reason to think that the time is not far hence when, by dint of systematic agitation we can increase our subscription list. We must also remember that the members of the S. D. P. who are posted, realize that the conduct of their members at the A. F. of L. convention amounted to utter rout and complete surrender. The latter are adding pages to our leaflet "The Difference." Push the party press.

A. E. Norman.

Los Angeles, Cal., Dec. 20.

## MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting General Committee, Massachusetts S. L. P., Boston, Dec. 27, was called to order by the Secretary. Comrade Engelhardt elected chairman. Roll call showed Engelhardt, Deans Sweeney, Mortensen, Schugel and Berry present; Goodman, Young, Greenman and Richardson absent. Records of meeting of December 11 accepted as read.

Communications: From Weekly People sending mailing list. Referred to committee of 1905 to be sent out. From J. F. Jennings, on nomination of candidate for N. E. C. Filed. From National Secretary, Henry Kuhn, on N. A. F. matter. Referred to committee of 1905. From National Secretary Henry Kuhn, sending stamps and receipt for same. Accepted and filed. From Boston, ordering stamps. Stamps sent. Filed. From Lowell, asking for speakers for two successive Sundays. Secretary to see Comrade Carroll and request that he go there. From N. E. C. sending financial report blanks. Referred to General Committee 1905.

Sections Boston, Everett, Cambridge, Woburn, Somerville, Lowell, Lawrence, Salem, Lynn, Worcester, Springfield, Holyoke, Pittsfield and New Bedford, as well as Jennings and Daily send vote for N. E. C. delegate. On tabulating the same, it appeared that Brennan had 40 votes; Greenman 7; Berry 42 votes for delegate to N. E. C. Berry was accordingly declared elected.

John Sweeney having 39 votes, all that were cast, was declared elected Secretary of the Massachusetts S. L. P. Walter Deans had 12 votes and W. H. Young 32 votes for Treasurer. Young declared elected.

Voted that pledge of National Committee man be filed with proper officer. From Connecticut S. E. C. per National Secretary Henry Kuhn, on plan to put organizer in the field in this region. Referred to 1905 committee.

Secretary read report on state of organization to be submitted to committee 1905. Action: laid on table until auditors finish report.

Voted that two additional auditors be elected in place of Greenman and Young both absent. Schugel and Deans elected.

Berry tenders his resignation as secretary, same to take effect at the end of this meeting. Resignation accepted and John Sweeney elected as Secretary pro tem, for balance of term. Voted that committee of 1905 meet in Everett, on Sunday, Jan. 1, at 11 a. m. to organize. Secretary to notify Sections.

In future Sections and members will kindly address all communications intended for the party to John Sweeney, 53 Temple street, Boston.

M. T. Berry, Secretary.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

## LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

NEW YORK—First—The strike of the Tampa cigarmakers (Spanish workers) was broken by the officers of the Gompers union of cigarmakers. The methods pursued were the same that they pursued about twenty years ago against the K. of L. cigarmakers of Philadelphia. They sent men to scab it on the strikers. In Tampa additional crimes were committed. The emissaries of the Gompers Union acted as deputy marshals, terrorized the strikers, and shanghaied several of them, some of whom they even marooned. The Gompers "Union-men" now work in Tampa for lower wages than the Spanish workers did.

Next questions next week.

E. L. W. BOSTON, MASS.—Your last clause, "it is necessary to obtain political equality before sexual equality can come into existence" is correct. It overthrows your first statements. It is not the present religious or other form of marriage that makes one sex look upon the other as subordinate. The notion of superiority of one sex over the other is not an artificial one. It is the reflex of a social development. That development, in turn, is the reflex of the material, wealth-producing development. And this latter development did not bring on the subordination of one sex to the other but as an incident of a more cardinal change. That cardinal change was the subordination of one human being (regardless of sex) to another human being. Rid yourself of the false mental posture of looking at social oppression as the result of a conspiracy. That false mental posture comes from ignoring the historic evolution of society. Read not on the marriage and kindred question the articles of protest written thereon. Read Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society," that will give you the scientific basis to stand on. Then read the English translation of the thirty-third edition of Bebel's Woman, published by the Labor News Company, 2-6 New Reade street, this city. In between read the pamphlet "Reform or Revolution," also published by the Labor News; the matter is taken up there, too. You will then have a complete command of the horizon.

T. W. NEW YORK—Your manuscript was preserved.

W. W. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—It is an absurd imagining that a revolutionary Movement in a country can be run by an element that is so utterly foreign that it has to depend for its information upon a press of a foreign tongue. Such an element is bound to become the dupe of the owners of that foreign press. In the measure that the element becomes Americanized it will emancipate itself from the yoke. Its horizon and sources of information will broaden and reveal to it that it has been duped. The bulk, however, of such element will remain duped, and the foreign press that it patronizes and that controls it will do all it can to keep that element from being Americanized. It is a preposterous idea that such an element is to be trusted with a management of a revolutionary Movement.

A. C. McG., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—Mr. Emil Leiss's performance should be quite enough to keep the newly organized Hungarian Branch firmly within the S. L. P. If a man goes there to show them the error of their ways, and his principal "showing" consists in an infuriate personal attack upon Comrade De Leon, the Branch should be able to draw its own conclusions. The conclusion should be all the easier seeing that Mr. Leiss's own S. P. organization has just issued a document convicting the gentleman of dishonesty for signing himself as President of a "Socialist Club" that does not exist. The man has long been an irate adversary of the S. L. P., whom he took for too narrow. We remember he once attacked us claiming we called Debs "an idiot." He knows no little English that he translated the English "idiot" into the German for "idiot." As to the San Francisco "Tageblatt" we know little of it except that it has been all sorts of things under several editors. And Mr. Leiss has been an unbalanced bourgeois radical, who, of course, hates the S. L. P.—and he must hate the S. L. P. all the more in the measure that he realizes that the Party is breaking its way through. It is always so with such people.

H. P., CINCINNATI, O.—First—The article in question was "The Berlin Conference," it appeared in the first issue (March, 1886); of the Columbia College Political Science Quarterly.

Second—"Que seay, ie, or 'Que seay, ie' is Perigord. In Montaigne's time French was not yet shaped into a language. It stands for the modern "que seay-je."

Third—Schmitze Delitzsch was a bourgeois free-trader. The Hirsch-Duncker affair was a malevolent move to hamstring the German Labor Movement with

British pure and simple Unionism or substantially that—at any rate a "co-operation of classes" affair.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—J. L. Kaufman, 230 Van Ness Avenue, desires a printed or written copy of an article by McCormick of Seattle, Wash., entitled "Can a Socialist Be a Scab?" and that, he says, appeared in the Weekly People of last February or March.

F. W., CHICAGO, ILL.—It is indeed a valuable "Difference." While the S. L. P. is anxious to have people read S. P. "literature" and establish a comparison for themselves between the productions of the S. P. and the S. L. P., the S. P. seeks to keep the blinkers to the eyes of the people and prevent them from becoming acquainted with S. L. P. literature. The S. P. posture in the matter betrays its actual narrowness and tyrannical disposition; it also betrays its absurd notion that a revolution can be accomplished by dupes; above all it shows the posture of the S. P. to be the ludicrous posture of the one-time Mexican Governor of Texas who, realizing that U. S. ideas were creeping into his Texan territory and would eventually overthrow Mexican rule, said: "I would prevent even the birds of the air to cross the Texan frontier from the U. S. side." Well, they did cross, and swept him and his into the ditch.

D. J. W., ROCKVILLE, CT.—One of the "obvious imperfections" of the election returns by States, published by the "Evening Post" is its total omission of the S. L. P. vote in California. We know the Party polled there 296 votes—that number of men WROTE OUT the S. L. P. presidential ticket on the ballot. Then also it does not record the Party's vote in Arizona, eighty-two votes. At near as we can now make it out the Party's vote was 34,072.

A. D. B., TOPEKA, KANS.—No doubt the "sweeping of cobwebs from the middle of the well-meaning S. P. men" is a necessary S. L. P. work. But it is not enough to sweep away cobwebs of false economics or sociology. It is necessary also to tonic them against the Kangaroo microbe of slander. They must be taught to demand from a man proof of his allegations, and not to allow themselves to be stamped by the knaves' cry of "Wolf! wolf!" Such is the A. F. of L. Kangaroo trick.

N. C. H., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—We are a "boss," are we? What makes you think so? The fact that we have an opinion? So have you. The fact that we seek to have our opinion accepted by others? So do you. If by such tokens we are a "boss," what are you? But let us take you into our confidence. With you and such as you, a man who is right does not serve to teach you, he only makes you angry. When you and such as you call a "boss" a man who only uses over and above board means of persuasion through facts and logical reasoning, when you and such as you call such a man a "boss," what you mean is that your ideal is your own vanity and not love for a cause, and when that base ideal is hit you have only malevolence and not the gratitude of the decent man towards him who shows you your error. To the man who is internally clean there is not greater service than to show him where he errs.

P. K., MANCHESTER, N. H.—Aye, aye! Labor is weak, very weak in all the things that go to impart strength in capitalism. But this is one of the instances of the truth of the Biblical statement that "the battle is not to the strong." The statement may be a Biblical premonition of what is now being seen in the Japanese "Jiu Jitsu." The Jap who wrestled the other day with two of McAdoo's police athletes was physically much weaker than they and yet he felled them with ease. The theory of the "Jiu Jitsu" is to operate upon an adversary in such manner that his strength turns against himself. Labor can learn the sociologic Jiu Jitsu trick. If it does, then all that now goes to make up capitalist strength can be turned against the capitalist class, and its very "strength" will then work against and floor it.

F. F., ALBANY, N. Y.—The Paris "Le Socialiste" has published no more reports upon the French "unity conference." The information it gives on the subject is to the effect that the conferences are in progress, but the report is too long for space in the paper. It is to be published in pamphlet form and to be submitted to the organizations.

A. S., ST. LOUIS, MO.—Your first and second are answered above to A. B. Topeka, Kans.

As to your third, fourth and fifth, the matter has been dealt with before from

(Continued on page 6.)



